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ART. I.—TEA, ITS CULTURE AND COMMERCE.

SOME years ago much interest was manifested at the South in regard to the proposed introduction of Tea as one of our staple commodities, and several articles appeared in the pages of this REVIEW, from the pen of Mr. Bonyngé, together with an account of certain experiments in South Carolina, made under the auspices of Dr. Junius Smith. The interest seemed for a time to die away, but a recent attempt has been made to revive it by the introduction of tea-plants from China, and by the establishment of a nursery in connection with the public gardens at Washington, for the propagation and dissemination of these plants.

Regretting as we do that it has fallen into such unfortunate hands (for what other than ridiculous pretension and clumsy performance has yet characterized the action of that miserable excrescence which has been suffered to grow up under the denomination of the "Agricultural Branch of the Patent Office?" and which, thank Heaven! is being curtailed just now of some of its proportions), we are still disposed to think that the subject of the tea-plant—its culture and its commerce—is one having much value to the people of the South, and is well entitled to the attention of our agricultural societies.

To understand the commercial importance of tea, it may be stated that about 60,000 tons of British shipping alone are employed by it, and about 10,000 tons of American shipping.

In every part of the world, tea, or some similar dietetic beverage, is in common use. Among these similar beverages may be named the Paragnay tea, which is described in a recent number of the REVIEW in an article on Brazil. According to Liebig, the action of tea upon the human system is

highly beneficial, and it is supposed to contribute directly to the formation of bile.

There is a difference of opinion as to the number of actual varieties of the East India teas, but the quality of the tea depends much upon the season when the leaves are picked, the mode in which it is prepared, as well as the district in which it grows. The green teas include Twankay, Young Hyson, Hyson, Gunpowder and Imperial; while the black comprise Bohea, Congou, Souchong, Oolong, and Pekoe.

The introduction of tea into England was effected by the East India Company in 1664, and in 1678 the whole import was but 4,713 lbs. By the middle of the next century it had reached 730,000 lbs., and a century later, 1852, 66,000,000 lbs., which paid into the national treasury nearly \$30,000,000. Five sixths of this whole import was consumed at home. The black tea exceeded the green as six to one. On the authority of Mr. Montgomery Martin, it appears that the total consumption of Chinese tea throughout the world was, in 1847, about 72,000,000 tons, of which the English consumed twice as much as all other nations together, except China and Japan. He gave the

United States of America.....	7,000,000 lbs.
Russia.....	10,000,000 "
France and Colonies.....	500,000 "
Holland.....	1,000,000 "
German States.....	500,000 "
Spain and Portugal.....	100,000 "
Italian States.....	50,000 "
South America.....	500,000 "

The actual consumption at the present moment cannot fall far short of 100,000,000 lbs.

The average cost of tea in China on shipboard is twenty cents per pound, and it is only by adulteration that such a price can be admitted, so great are the expenses of transportation and the cost of fuel, and so primitive is the machinery used. In America it is thought much greater economy could be practised. The Russian teas, brought by caravans, are the most expensive and the best teas that are used in Europe, and the Chinese themselves pay seven dollars a pound for the Yon-pouchong tea. It is a fancy article which has no export value. The most expensive teas are purchased by the wealthier Russian families, but the finest never leave China, being bought up by the Mandarins. Among the high-scented teas are various caper teas, flavored with cloranthus flowers and the buds of some species of plants belonging to the orange tribe. The long Souchong are chiefly purchased for the American markets. The Oolong tea is the favorite drink in Calcutta, though less

prized in England, its delicate flavor being injured by the length of the voyage. For delicacy it is said that no teas approach those usually called Mandarin teas, which, being slightly fired and rather damp when in the fittest state for use, will bear neither transport nor keeping. They are in great demand among the Chinese, and average five dollars per pound in the native market.

The total consumption of tea in China is estimated at 4 lbs. per head, which would make the whole production of the article in the empire about 1,500,000,000 lbs.; including all that is sent abroad, with the exception of an unascertained amount to the neighboring East Indian countries.

A person taking tea once a day, it is said, will consume $7\frac{1}{2}$ lbs. per annum.

There is a singular article of tea in use throughout Central Asia, among the Mongols, Tartars, &c., which is called the Brick Tea of Thibet, and is formed of the refuse tea-leaves and sweepings of the granaries, damped and pressed into a mould with a little bullock's blood. The finer parts are packed in papers, and the coarser in sheep-skin. It is churned with milk, salt, butter, and boiling water, after the fashion of a soup.

The import of tea into the United States was in

1821.—	4,975,646 lbs.,	valued at.....	\$1,322,636
1831.—	5,182,867	"	1,418,037
1835.—	14,415,572	"	4,522,806
1840.—	20,006,595	"	5,427,010
1848.—	18,889,217	"	6,217,111
1855.—	—	"	6,806,463
1857.—	20,325,541	"	5,757,860

In the year 1857, the total export of tea from the United States to all countries was 3,867,479 lbs., valued at \$1,430,212.

About one third of the tea imported into the United States is black and the remainder green, thus reversing the order in Great Britain, where the value of the black tea is much better understood.

The tea districts of China extend from 27° to 31° of north latitude, and in Japan it is cultivated as far north as 45° , and succeeds best on the side of mountains, among sandstone and granite. Its culture has extended to other quarters. The East India Company introduced it successfully in Upper Assam. It is grown extensively in Mauritius, and has been commenced at St. Helena and the Cape Colony. It has been successful in the island of Madeira at an elevation of 3,000 feet above the level of the sea. In Java the Dutch have devoted great atten-

tion to tea, and their extensive plantations are in the best order. Japan produces black and green teas. A few years ago the cultivation was attempted in Ceylon. In Brazil Chinese tea is cultivated largely, but not profitably. In South Carolina the experiments so far have been unsuccessful, though made on a large scale. In California almost all circumstances favor the extensive growth of the plant.

Mr. Fortune, who travelled a long time in the East, and was employed by the India Company to introduce proper plants and superintend the culture of them, which was proposed in their possessions, has published some interesting details upon the subject. We extract the following :

"There are few subjects connected with the vegetable kingdom which have attracted such a large share of public notice as the tea-plant of China. Its cultivation on the Chinese hills, the particular species or variety which produces the black and green teas of commerce, and the method of preparing the leaves, have always been objects of peculiar interest. The jealousy of the Chinese government in former times, prevented foreigners from visiting any of the districts where the tea is cultivated ; and the information derived from the Chinese merchants, even scanty as it was, was not to be depended upon. And hence we find our English authors contradicting each other ; some asserting that the black and green teas are produced by the same variety, and that the difference in color is the result of a different mode of preparation ; while others say that the black teas are produced from the plant called by botanists *Thea Bohea*, and the green from *Thea viridis*, both of which we have had for many years in our gardens in England. During my travels in China since the last war, I have had frequent opportunities of inspecting some extensive tea districts in the black and green tea countries of Canton, Fokien, and Chekiang ; the result of these observations is now laid before the reader. It will prove that even those who have had the best means of judging have been deceived, and that the greater part of the black and green teas which are brought yearly from China to Europe and America are obtained from the same species or variety, namely, from the *Thea viridis*. Dried specimens of this plant were prepared in the districts I have named, by myself, and are now in the herbarium of the Horticultural Society of London, so that there can be no longer any doubt upon the subject. In various parts of the Canton provinces where I have had an opportunity of seeing tea cultivated, the species proved to be the *Thea Bohea*, or what is commonly called the black tea-plant. In the green tea districts of the north—I allude more particularly to the province of Chekiang—I never met with a single plant of this species, which is so common in the fields and gardens near Canton. All the plants in the green tea country near Ningpo, on the islands of the Chusan Archipelago, and in every part of the province which I have had an opportunity of visiting, proved, without an exception, to be the *Thea viridis*. Two hundred miles farther to the northwest, in the province of Kiang-nan, and only a short distance from the tea hills in that quarter, I also found in gardens the same species of tea. Thus far my actual observations exactly verified the opinions I had formed on the subject before I left England, viz. : that the black teas were prepared from the *Thea Bohea*, and the green from the *Thea viridis*. When I left the north, on my way to the city of Foo-chow-foo, on the river Min, in the province Fokien, I had no doubt that I should find the tea hills there covered with the other species, *Thea Bohea*, from which we generally suppose the black teas are made ; and this was the more likely to be the case as this species actually derives its specific name from the Bohea hills in this province. Great was my surprise to find all the plants on the tea hills near Foo-chow exactly the same as those in the green tea districts of the north. Here were, then, green tea plantations on the black tea hills, and not a single plant of the

Thea Bohea to be seen. Moreover, at the time of my visit, the natives were busily employed in the manufacture of black teas. Although the specific differences of the tea-plant were well known to me, I was so much surprised, and I may add amused, at this discovery, that I procured a set of specimens for the herbarium, and also dug up a living plant, which I took northward to Chekiang. On comparing it with those which grew on the green tea hills, no difference whatever was observed. It appears, therefore, that the black and green teas of the northern districts of China (those districts in which the greater part of the teas for the foreign market are made) are both produced from the same variety, and that that variety is the *Thea viridis*, or what is commonly called green tea plant. On the other hand, those black and green teas which are manufactured in considerable quantities in the vicinity of Canton, are obtained from the *Thea Bohea*, or black tea. In the green tea districts of Chekiang, near Ningpo, the first crop of leaves is generally gathered about the middle of April. This consists of the young leaf buds just as they begin to unfold, and forms a fine and delicate kind of young hyson, which is held in high estimation by the natives, and is generally sent about in small quantities as presents to their friends. It is a scarce and expensive article, and the picking off the leaves in such a young state does considerable injury to the tea plantation. The summer rains, however, which fall copiously about this season, moisten the earth and air; and if the plants are young and vigorous, they soon push out fresh leaves. In a fortnight or three weeks from the time of the first picking, the shrubs are again covered with fresh leaves, and are ready for the second gathering, which is the most important of the season. The third and last gathering, which takes place as soon as new leaves are formed, produces a very inferior kind of tea, which is rarely sent out of the district. The mode of gathering and preparing the leaves of the tea-plant is very simple. We have been so long accustomed to magnify and mystify everything relating to the Chinese, that in all their arts and manufactures we expect to find some peculiar practice, when the fact is, that many operations in China are more simple in their character than in most parts of the world. To rightly understand the process of rolling and drying the leaves, which I am about to describe, it must be borne in mind that the grand object is to expel the moisture, and at the same time to retain as much as possible of the aromatic and other desirable secretions of the species. The system adopted to attain this end is as simple as it is efficacious. In the harvest seasons, the natives are seen in little family groups on the side of every hill, when the weather is dry, engaged in gathering tea-leaves. They do not seem so particular as I imagined they would have been in this operation, but strip the leaves off rapidly and promiscuously, and throw them all into round baskets, made for the purpose out of split bamboo or ratan. In the beginning of May, when the principal gathering takes place, the young seed-vessels are about as large as peas. These are also stripped off and mixed with the leaves; it is these seed-vessels which we often see in our tea, and which has some slight resemblance to capers. When a sufficient quantity of leaves are gathered, they are carried home to the cottage or barn, where the operation of drying is performed.

"*Method of manufacturing Black Tea.*—The young and fresh leaves on being picked (they only being used, the old ones being too hard, and therefore unfit to curl), are carried to the manufactory, and spread out in a large airy room to cool, and are there kept during the night, being occasionally turned with the hand if brought in in the afternoon; or, if brought in during the morning, they are allowed to lie until noon. Early in the morning the manufacturers visit the airing room, and pack up the leaves in baskets and remove them to the manufacturing room. Each manufacturer takes a basketful, and commences to beat them between the palms of his hands with a lateral motion, in order to soften and make them more pliable for working, and thus prevent them, when rolled, from breaking. This beating process continues for about an hour, and it may either consist of one or two processes; the Chinese sometimes finish the beating process at once; at others, they allow the leaves, after being beat for half an hour, to remain a time and then resume it. They now go to breakfast, and in one hour and a half the leaves are ready for the pan. The pans being heated by wood placed in the oven, so as to feel hot to the hands, are filled to about two thirds,

or about three seers of leaves are thrown in at a time—the quantity which a manufacturer is capable of lifting with both hands. With the hands the leaves are kept moving with a rotatory motion in the pan, and when they become very hot, the motion is kept up with a pair of forked sticks. This process is continued for three or four minutes, depending on the heat of the pan, or until the leaves feel hot and soft. They are then, with one sweep of a bamboo brush, swept into a basket, and thrown on to the rolling-table, which is covered with a coarse mat made of bamboo. Each manufacturer then takes as much as he can hold in both hands, and forms a ball and commences to roll it with all his might with a semicircular motion, which causes a greenish yellow juice to exude. This process is continued for three or four minutes, the balls being occasionally undone and made up again. The balls are then handed to another party at the extremity of the table, to undo them and spread the leaves out thinly on flat baskets and expose them to the sun, if there is any; if not, they are kept in the manufactory. After all the leaves have gone through this process, the first baskets are brought back, and the leaves again transferred to the pan, worked up in a similar manner for the same length of time, re-transferred to the table, and again rolled. This being done, the leaves are again spread out on large flat baskets to cool. On being cooled the leaves are collected together and thinly spread out on flat wicker-worked sieve-baskets, which are placed in others of a deep and of a double-coned shape. The choolahs being lighted for some time, and the charcoal burning clear, they are now ready to receive the coned baskets. The basket is placed over the choolah and kept there for about five minutes. The leaves are then removed, re-transferred to the flat baskets, and re-rolled for a few minutes. This being done, the leaves are again brought together, placed in the conical basket and kept over the charcoal fire for about two minutes. The contents of the conical baskets are then all collected together in a heap, and as much is placed in a conical basket as it will hold, and it is again placed over the charcoal choolah until the tea is perfectly dry. During this time the baskets are frequently removed and the tea turned, in order to allow the leaves to be completely and uniformly dried, and the basket too is generally struck, on removal, a violent side blow with the hand, to remove from the sieve any small particles that might otherwise fall into the fire. Before removing the basket from the choolah, a flat basket is always placed on the floor to receive it, and all the particles which pass through, on the coned basket being struck, are again replaced. On the conical basket being filled, before placing it over the choolah, a funnel is made in the centre of the tea with the hand, to allow the heated air to pass through. Sometimes a funnel made of bamboo is made for this purpose. After the tea feels perfectly dry, it is packed in boxes, and sent to the godown.

"Next day the different kinds of tea are picked, and on being separated they are again placed in the conical baskets and heated. During this process the baskets are frequently removed from the choolah in order to turn the tea, so that the heating may be general and uniform. In doing this a flat basket is always placed on the floor, as on the former day (and a flat basket, too, is placed on the top to confine the heat), to receive the conical one, which receive one or two blows to open the pores of the sieve. What passes through is replaced among the tea. When it is perfectly dry it is ready for finally packing.

"The kinds of black tea at present manufactured are—*Souchong*, *Pouchong*, *Flowery Pekoe*, and *Bohea*. The *Flowery Pekoe* is manufactured in September.

"*Method of manufacturing Green Tea.*—On the young and fresh leaves being plucked they are spread out on the ground of the airing room and allowed to cool. After remaining for about two hours, or (if brought in late in the afternoon) during the night, they are removed to the green tea room. The pans being properly heated, the leaves, as in the case with the black tea, are thrown into the pans and kept either with the hand or two forked sticks in constant motion for three or four minutes, and are then removed to the rolling table, and then rolled in the same manner in balls as the black tea. They are then scattered most sparingly on large flat baskets and exposed to the heat of the sun. If there is no sun the baskets are arranged in frames, which are placed over the choolah, heated with charcoal. During the drying the leaves are frequently made into

balls and rolled in the flat baskets, in order to extract the juice. The drying process continues for about two hours, and on the leaves becoming dry, those contained in two baskets are thrown together, and then four basketfuls into one, and so on until they are all collected together. In this state the leaves still feel soft, damp, and pliant to the hand, and are now brought back to the tea manufacturing room. Opposite to each of the inclined pans, which have been properly heated so as to feel warm to the hand by wood supplied to the ovens underneath, one of the Chinese stations himself, and puts as many leaves into it as it will hold. He then moves them in a heap gently, from before backward, making these perform a circle, and presses them strongly to the sides of the pan. As the leaves become hot he uses a flat piece of wood, in order that he may more effectually compress them. This process continues for about two hours, the leaves being compressed into at least half of their bulk, and becomes so dry that when pressed against the back part of the pan in mass, they again fall back in pieces. The tea, as by this time it has assumed this appearance, is now placed in a bag made of American drill or jean (the size depending on the quantity of tea), which is damped, and one end twisted with much force over a stick, and thus it is much reduced in size. After being thus powerfully compressed and beaten so as to reduce the mass as much as possible, the bag is exposed to the sun until it feels perfectly dry. If there is no sun it is placed in the heated pan, and there retained until it is so. This finishes the first day's process.

"On the second day it is placed in small quantities in the heated inclined pans, and moved up and down against the sides and bottom with the palm of the hand, which is made to perform a semi-circle. This is continued for about six hours, and by so doing the color of the tea is gradually brought out.

"The third day it is passed through sieve baskets of different dimensions, then exposed to the winnowing machine, which separates the different kinds of green teas. The winnowing machine is divided into a series of divisions, which receive the different kinds according to their size and weight. 1st. Coarsest Souchoo. This tea, owing to its coarseness, is not marketable. 2d. Chounchoo. This is a large, round-grained tea. 3d. Machoo. This is also a round-grained tea, but finer than the former. 4th. Hyson. 5th. Gunpowder Hyson. 6th. Chumat. This kind of tea consists of broken particles of other kinds of tea.

"On being separated, the different kinds are placed in baskets and picked by the hand, all the old or badly curled and also light-colored leaves being removed, and others of different varieties, which by chance may have become mixed. To make the bad or light-colored leaves marketable, they undergo an artificial process of coloring, but this I have prohibited in compliance with the orders of the Court of Directors, and therefore do not consider this tea at present fit for the market. On the different teas being properly picked, they are again placed in the heated inclined pans, and undergo separately the process of being moved violently up and down and along the bottom of the pan for three hours in the manner already described. The color is now fully developed. If the tea feels damp, it is kept longer than three hours in the pan. The tea is now ready to be packed.

"*Packing.*—As soon as the tea is prepared, boxes lined with sheet-lead ought to be ready to receive it. On being packed it is to be firmly pressed down, and the lead is then to be soldered. Before the sheet-lead box is placed in the wooden one it is covered with paper, which is pasted on to prevent any air acting on the tea through any holes which might exist in the lead. The box is then nailed, removed to the godown, papered, stamped, and numbered. It is then ready for sale.

"From what I have just stated, it will be perceived that box-makers and sheet-lead makers are essential to form a complete tea establishment. With reference to the box-making it is unnecessary for me to make any remarks, further than that care is to be taken in selecting wood for making boxes, as it ought to be free of all smell. All coniferous (pine) woods are therefore unfit for the purpose. In the hills the best woods are toon and walnut, and at Deyrah the saul (*Shorea Robusta*)."

The knowledge of the tea-plant among the Chinese cannot

be traced back further than the year 350, but its general introduction was about the year 800. It is botanically allied to the camellia, and much resembles it. The plant is from three to six feet high, and usually presents a dense mass of foliage or an infinite number of small twigs—a result of the practice of cutting it down. In Assam, where it is found wild, it reaches the height of 30 feet. The leaf is a dark green, and the flowers are white and inodorous. It is usually raised in China by a few individuals, who cultivate a few dozen or scores of shrubs upon their own lands, and either cure the leaves themselves or sell them to their neighbors after assorting them according to their quality. There are but few large plantations under the care of landlords. The produce of old and celebrated nurseries is carefully collected and cured by itself, and a native authority asserts that the prices of such lots vary from \$15 to \$100 per pound. The manufacture of the chests, lining them with lead, and transporting them to the ship, give occupation at Canton to many thousand persons. The refuse of packing-houses is sold to the poor at a low rate, under the name of “tea endings” and “tea bones.” It is a necessary of life to all classes of the people. The black tea is of course the most beneficial. Neither the Chinese nor Japanese use milk or sugar in their tea. The latter sometimes reduce the leaves to powder, and pour boiling water through them in a colander in the same way that coffee is often made.

Tea being now considered an article of prime necessity in the United States, is imported duty free, and such are the prejudices upon this subject it would be almost impossible to levy a tariff upon it again, whatever might be the exigencies of the Treasury. If successfully introduced into the United States, the consumption would perhaps swell in amount to twenty or thirty millions of dollars annually.

For the data required in the preparation of this paper we are indebted to the able work by P. L. Simmonds, of London, entitled *The Commercial Products of the Vegetable World*, to Mr. Williams' work on the *Chinese Empire*, and to the United States Consular Reports. The reader will also consult to advantage on the same subject, Mr. Bonyng's work, published in 1850, and several of the earlier volumes of the *REVIEW*.

ART. II.—SLAVERY AGGRESSIONS.

Four centuries ago there was little trade or commerce: each country raising its own agricultural products.

After Europe and America had become dependant for sub-

sistence on tropical and slave products, the abolitionists succeeded in freeing the slaves of the West Indies, Mexico, Mauritius, and a great part of South America. Very soon scarcity of provisions became normal and famine frequent throughout Europe. Now, enormous efforts are being made by France and England, Spain, and our Southern States, to retrieve the error committed by a short-sighted philanthropy, and to supply the places of the liberated negroes by introducing apprentices and Coolies in their stead, or by renewing the old slave-trade itself. It is a resistless effort of nature to supply the vacuum in the industrial market, which abolition had brought about. Slavery has truly become aggressive, ingressive, and progressive. It is the most distinguishing phenomenon of the great reactionary conservative movement of our day. Rosewater philanthropy has run the length of its tether—has had its day. Feminine men or masculine women no longer control or influence the affairs of the world. Already hated and contemned they will very soon bring about the necessity of greatly abridging, by legal enactments, in many countries, the liberty of the press, of religion, and of speech; for they are in many sections successfully using their liberties to upset law, order, morality, government, and religion. France, the hotbed of this pseudo-philanthropy, has found it necessary to impose rigid restraints on its licentious excesses, or to give the country up to anarchy and agrarianism. The other infected localities may have very soon to follow her example. In the South a healthy public opinion sufficiently restrains all kinds of licentiousness. In place of that false philanthropy, which was unloosing all the bonds of society, a spirit of rigid rule is arising in the bosom of free society. Stern conservative men begin to assume their natural position, and to take the lead in human affairs. Especially in our large cities do we see such men, surrounded by an increased police force, placed in office; because, in those cities, the evils of excess of liberty have been most destructive of social order and most fruitful of crime.

The phase of this world-wide reaction, which is most distinct and prominent, is the change of conduct of the civilized nations and races toward savage and semi-civilized peoples. These latter have been practically excluded from the protection and thrown out the pale of the law of nations. Experience proved that the interests of mankind, of civilization, and of Christianity, required that such people should be subjected, enslaved, or in some way *compelled*, to adopt and follow civilized ways. Hence, England, is yearly extending her empire in Asia, France annexing Algeria, Russia pressing down

upon Circassia and Turkey, and America is feeling her way to the equator. Hence, too, China and Japan are forced to give up their systems of seclusion and non-intercourse, and reluctantly to open their ports to Christian commerce ; and, far most important of all, hence Coolies and Africans, who cannot be civilized at home, are transported to new fields of industry. When closely examined these movements have but one object, which is to supply the growing deficiency of tropical and southern products, which deficiency abolition has brought about.

But abolition, hemmed in on all sides, seems to gather courage from despair, and to become more violent and daring as it becomes more hopeless. Yet the resistless tide of conservatism, which is rushing in from every side, will soon submerge and drown it. The aggressions of Southern Slavery are a small, a very small, part of the "irrepressible conflict" which is waging between conservatism and radicalism, between property and agrarianism, between Christianity and Infidelity, between marriage and free love, between the civilized and the uncivilized. The little narrow intellectual visions of such men as Seward, Greeley, Garrison, Giddings, and Phillips, can neither comprehend the whole field of action, nor see the countless hosts who are steadily marching on to conquer and exterminate them. The cause of the South is the cause of the civilized and Christian world. The aggressions of the South are but the onward march of a healthy, conservative, world-wide reaction. The change of opinion and of sentiment on the slavery question is very great at the North. The most influential and intelligent men in that section no longer think negro-slavery evil or immoral. Slavery is aggressive even at the North. In the South the aggressions of slavery have been continuous for half a century, and now all are united in its defence and advocacy. Soon after the Revolution the South gave the Northwest to the Union, and permitted slavery to be excluded from it. Negro-slavery and the products of slave labor were then in excess. The African slave-trade was abolished, and never would have been revived but for the Abolitionists, who brought about West Indian, Mexican, and South American emancipation, and thereby occasioned a deficiency of slave products and a necessity for fresh importations of involuntary tropical laborers. At the time of the Revolution, and even up to the Virginia slave insurrection, in 1833, abolition sentiment was common at the South. As slaves became more scarce and their price advanced, the cause of slavery became more popular, until now we have a South united at home and determined to assert its equal rights in the territories. The

action of Congress on this subject has been a succession of pro-slavery victories ; of slavery aggression, ingression, and progression. Our cause is equally the cause of all religious and conservative men at the North ; hence a united South has to contend against a divided North. Hunger and nakedness, too, fight on our side. Trade and commerce and manufactures are our allies, for without slavery there would be no foreign commerce, little domestic trade, and manufactures would languish. Nay, all the Abolitionists are fighting for slavery, while they denounce the South and imperil the Union. The demand for slave products sustains, promotes, and advances slavery. Let all the anti-slavery men in the world cease to use those products, and slaves would become, as at the time of the American Revolution, a costly incumbrance. Southern gentlemen would liberate their negroes just as English gentlemen liberated their *white* vassals when their labor became unprofitable. Many of you, abolitionists, are the descendants of the serfs who were set free because they were not profitable as slaves. Now if you wish to bring down our negroes to their condition, you have but to cease using cotton, rice, coffee, tobacco, sugar, &c., and we, finding them unprofitable, will liberate them, just as our cavalier ancestors freed your ancestors. But if you insist on using cotton clothing and sugar and coffee you are increasing the demand for slaves and are in truth the authors of slavery aggressions and the revived slave-trade. The slave ships are fitted out from Boston and New-York to supply your demands. You originate and sustain the trade. You greedily devour the wages of a sin which you denounce. You fight for slavery with your right arm and feebly contend against it with your left. Your appetites, your stomachs, your naked backs, are with us, your narrow prejudices and class jealousies against us.

Left to themselves, and a majority of the Northern people, rich and poor, would be conservative anti-abolition :—but black republicanism has put itself under abolition lead. Greeley is its controlling editor and Seward its great politician. You will dissolve the Union by party machinery ; but you will not arrest the aggressions of slavery nor retard its incoming tide for a moment. You will still use slave products, and the rapid increase of your population will daily increase the demand for a consumption of those products, and thus stimulate the aggressiveness of slavery into increased action. It is time for us to consider where the line of division shall run. We suggest that New Jersey, Eastern New-York, Pennsylvania, and Southern Ohio, Southern Indiana and Southern Il-

linois unite with the South. This portion of the Free States, enjoying the monopoly of the Southern market, would at once become the most prosperous country in the world.

Black republicanism may have alienated this section from the South. We must form alliances in Europe. England and France both feel the want of slave products, and that want is yearly increasing. They have not sufficient surface of arable land, under any system of farming, to supply food and clothing for their dense and increasing population. Their commerce and manufactures depend on Southern trade. They cannot live, like their ancestors three centuries ago, within themselves. They are busily seeking to increase their Southern trade, and might effect their object fully by cutting off the Southern States from the North. Let not a bale of cotton, a pound of rice or sugar, or a bushel of grain, be sent by us to the North, and permit none of her manufactures to be sold among us, and how could she live? What would become of her commerce, her manufactures, her cities?

The world cannot do without our cotton, and the world will see to it that a band of Northern fanatics do nothing even to diminish its supply. Negro-slavery supports the commerce and manufactures of the world and helps greatly to feed and clothe the world. Blot it out, and Christendom would stagger and starve under the infliction.

Despite of disunion the aggressions of slavery will continue, for the demand for slave products is rapidly increasing and the supply of those products very deficient. Every man who consumes those products increases this demand and stimulates the aggressiveness of slavery. The true, the only sustainers of slavery, the slave-trade, and slavery aggression, are the consumers of slave products. Our enemies fight for us, and will continue to do so, until they learn to live on the fruits of their own soil. Let the South no longer deny the aggressions of slavery; for her cause is onward. But let her show that those aggressions were commenced by the abolitionists, who freed the negroes of the West Indies, and are now sustained and kept alive by their demand for slave products.

When will slavery aggression cease? Certainly not until the supply of Southern and tropical products equals the demand. But population throughout Europe and our North is increasing much faster than the supply of domestic agricultural products. England, we believe, imports annually two hundred million dollars worth of agricultural products from the South. She must starve without them. Our New-England States live by Southern trade. Their agricultural prod-

nets would not feed and clothe their population three months in the year. All the rest of Christendom is in great measure dependent on slave products. Slavery must increase or their population must stand still. They have no arable land on which to support a large population. It is now starving, and rushing to America to transfer the scene of famine to our shores. Hence know-nothingism. The white laborers of America see and feel that the competition of foreign labor is starving them. If there were a sufficiency of negro-slave labor, if importation of negroes had kept pace with white immigration, the laborers of the North would have found living cheap, because their markets would have been abundantly supplied with Southern products, and would also have found wages good and employment readily obtained, because the South would have afforded a far larger market for Northern manufactures. Abolish negro-slavery, and native and foreign laborers must starve. The American party would never have arisen had Southern importation of slaves kept pace with Northern white immigration, for then the laborers of the North would have found cheap living, abundant employment, and good wages. Abolition makes idle savages of the emancipated negroes to starve the laborers of the North—and then turns round and makes tools of those laborers in its assaults on the South. Will these laborers never see that Greeley and Seward and their compeers are their real enemies, and the slaveholders of the South their true friends? We fear not. We solemnly believe Northern institutions are a failure, and that the sooner we cut loose from them the better. We are safe, because we are needed. They are a pest and nuisance to Christendom, for they are the hotbed of all the infamous disorganizing isms of the day, and should be left to take care of themselves like lepers, in solitary isolation.

The time for reasoning with them has passed. We must arm to the teeth, form foreign alliances, and take care of ourselves, whether within or without the Union.

The South is dependent. It wants self-appreciation. It borrows its thoughts, fashions, and opinions, from Europe and the North. It is continually harping upon the aggressions of the North. It professes to be defeated and driven back at every point. It appeals to the pity and sympathy of the world. It begs for mercy. Let it change its tone. It is the most flourishing country in the world, because its institutions are natural, normal, and scriptural. The "irrepressible conflict" must come. It has already begun. Slavery is aggressive, because it is right and natural. Let us accept Mr. Seward's issue, or meanly beg for mercy!

Let us show to the world that we, slaveholders, are the only conservatives; that we are ready to lead a salutary reaction in morals, religion, and government; that we propose not to govern society less, but to govern it more; that Liberty everywhere needs more legal regulation and restrictions; that Mr. Seward's "*New Idea*," which he broached in the Senate, that "every man should till his own lands," is agrarianism thinly veiled; that Greeley and all the other leaders of black republicanism are agrarians and anarchists.

Let us show that slavery aggression is but part and parcel of a new reactionary movement, which takes issue with the political philosophy that grew out of the liberation of the serfs, and the excesses of the Reformation, with Locke, Rousseau, Tom Paine, and Jefferson; that, more distinctly still, takes issue with the rosewater philanthropy of Clarkson and Wilberforce, of Howard, Hannah More, Mrs. Fry, Lord Brougham, and the *Edinburgh Review*. With that philanthropy which builds "model prisons," sympathizes with crime, and makes pets of criminals and savages. Let us have ideas, thoughts, opinions, laws, manners, and customs of our own, for we can find none adapted to our social relations in Europe or the North. Let us analyze our society and detect and expound its rationale, its true philosophy. The philosophy which we now teach is borrowed from Europe and is at war with our institutions. We have not only to prove that negroes should be slaves, but that white men should be masters. This involves the necessity of writing a new philosophy of politics, law, morals, economy, and religion. The ostrich, that buries its head in the sand to escape its pursuers, is quite as wise as the Southern man who proposes to defend his whole social position by showing that negroes should be slaves. He defends himself like the ostrich at a single point, while on every other side he leaves his position open to attack.

There is an "irrepressible conflict" of ideas, thoughts, opinions, philosophies, impending. Reformation has run mad, liberty has run into licentiousness. We of the South are assailed, threatened with civil war, destruction of life and property, and social revolution, by the holders of old opinions—the agrarians and anarchists. We must raise the issue of conservatism against anarchy. This is the "irrepressible conflict" which little, busy intriguing politicians, like Seward, are incapable of comprehending.

The South must learn to comprehend it, in all its variety, and its momentous importance and extent; for until she does she will not know how to manage her defence. Slavery aggression is but part of the newly-awakened conservative idea.

The drama of free society has been acted out in France. It runs into anarchy and anarchy issues into military despotism.

In all other countries its fate and its history will be the same, unless they too raise the banner of conservatism, and set about, in earnest, reforming their institutions, and likening them to ancient and time-approved models. Reforming, not destroying, time-honored institutions. Government, in all its forms, parental, patriarchal, religious, and national, is prescriptive, God-made, of natural origin and growth. It grows like the lofty oak; man may lop, trim, cultivate, manure, and improve it, but he can make neither an acorn nor an oak.

Socialism, abolition, and infidelity, propose to make social organisms and governments out and out. Christianity and conservatism are satisfied modestly and reverently to receive them ready made (like the governments of the bees, the ants, and the beavers) from the hand of God; and only so far to reform and modify them as new circumstances may require. Human nature changes but little, and government must adapt itself to human nature, and change but little also.

Moral men, religious men, men of property, in the North, see you not, that abolition is endeavoring to cut sheer asunder all the ties that bind man to man, and to subvert the whole social fabric, and that abolition is still in the ascendant? See you not that a strict alliance with the South is the only means to build up a conservative party at the North that can make head against the anarchists, led on by Seward and Greeley and Garrison and Phillips?

ART. III.—BONAPARTE, CROMWELL, AND WASHINGTON.

OPINION is as much a matter of fashion as dress itself. Moral terms, moral principles, and moral qualities, admit neither of admeasurement nor precise definition. Taste seems to be the only standard by which to adjust conflicting theories in morals, and taste is itself the creature of fashion and of individual caprice. In physics, controversies may be definitively settled, because the world has agreed to adjust them by fixed standards of weight, measure, price, &c.

Let the reader reflect abstractedly on any moral term whatever—virtue, vice, liberty, slavery, love, &c.—and he will find that none of them convey precise and definite notions to his own mind; that his opinions about them fluctuate, and are modified by time and circumstances; and that no one else's notions of their meaning exactly coincide with his own. He will also

find that the meaning of moral terms changes from age to age, and fluctuates with fashion.

To decide controversies about them he can only appeal to authority—to the preponderance of human opinion; and authority is a standard as doubtful, vague, and illusory, as the moral terms themselves. Men have been cutting each other's throats from the beginning of time in wars waged about words, whose meaning or whose value, can never be determined. For their lives they could not tell for what they were fighting, yet they become more dogmatical and more intolerant, just as their ideas become more beclouded and confused. Such have been all the wars about religious tenets, and about political liberty. Religious truth is felt, but can never be defined, and Liberty is as undefinable and illusory as the electric spark. Such controversies generally end only when the exhausted combatants discover that they have been fighting about words, not ideas, and that in truth, there is no appreciable difference of opinion between them.

To illustrate our theory, and to advance with our subject, let us compare Bonaparte and Washington physically—which was the taller man? A standard of measure universally agreed on, and which admits of no dispute, decides the question in favor of Washington. Which was the heavier man? A like standard of weight determines the comparison also on the side of Washington.

Now let us quit the field of physics and enter that of morals. Which was the braver man? We have no exact and agreed standard to appeal to. What is bravery? Why tastes and opinions differ, and there is no common arbiter to settle the difference. If it mean love of the excitement of danger, thirst for blood, and reckless excitability in battle, why Bonaparte was the braver man. But if true bravery include calm fortitude under adversity, and a deliberate willingness to sacrifice life and fortune for one's country, then was Washington far the braver.

Let us advance a step farther, and inquire which was the greater man? No two human beings will exactly agree as to what constitutes human greatness; and no one individual entertains precise, comprehensive, and definite notions on this subject. He may talk about it, and write about it, and make arguments and definitions in trying to convince others, but he remains unconvinced himself. No one has a distinct notion of human greatness.

Very many moral and intellectual qualities are required to constitute it. Yet we can neither determine the exact nature

and value of any of those qualities, nor their aggregate value, when found in the same character. In such an estimate, too, we should have to deduct moral and intellectual vices and weaknesses, which are to be treated as minor quantities. Yet these minor quantities are as little susceptible of valuation or measurement as moral virtues or positive quantities.

How silly and unsatisfactory must all moral controversies be, since in endeavoring to determine which was the greater man Washington or Napoleon, we can arrive at no data, no agreed premises, with which to begin the argument!

We ourselves have decided opinions on the subject, but shall not endeavor to convince others. We think Washington was the greatest of the moderns, and Bonaparte only a great warrior—too selfish, too false, too unreliable, for a subordinate command, and too reckless, rash, and injudicious, to sway the destinies of a nation. He was a great warrior because he shed oceans of human gore, and inflicted more of human misery than any other hero. His defeats were grander than his victories; and he consequently brought deeper disgrace and more suffering on his own country than all his devastations inflicted on other nations. Cromwell we consider great, but only a great brute. Devoid of genius, he possessed an almost unerring instinct, and added the affection for offspring, generally found in the brute, to his intuitive instinct. Bonaparte possessed genius, without instinct or affections of any kind. His judgment was bad, because he deemed all men base, and selfish, and acted on this false estimate of human nature. He loved his country and his family, only as instruments by which to further his ambitious, base, and selfish ends, and never hesitated to sacrifice either of them to attain those ends.

It has lately become the fashion, not only to speak in high terms of the military talents of Bonaparte and Cromwell, but to gloss over their treasons; and, worse than all, to commend and approve the military despotisms which they established and wielded. Strange, at first view, that the leaders in this new fashion of thought, which eulogizes military despotism and the reign of terror instead of law, are generally ultra-liberals, like Macaulay, who would pull down all old institutions to establish the largest liberty and the sovereignty of the individual, and then forthwith inaugurate military despotism to cure the evils of the anarchy they have invoked.

The wonder, however, ceases when we recollect that ultra-liberals are conceited, dogmatical, lawless men, who would attain their revolutionary purposes by trampling on old insti-

tutions, disregarding precedent and authority, and violating laws and constitutions. Regicide republicans are the national parents of military despotism. Usurpation and tyranny are begun by them, and they naturally enough eulogize the tyranny of a single despot, which is infinitely preferable to the tyranny of the masses. Surfeited with their own work, they hail the usurper who restrains their blood-stained hands.

Mr. Carlyle, who is no liberal, concurs with Mr. Macaulay in the laudation of military usurpers and despots. They come, however, from the same overbearing, conceited, Scotch Calvinistic stock, which, after succeeding in overthrowing the belief in the infallibility of the Pope, fell a victim to the belief in the infallibility of the individual. In all human social institutions, whether political, religious, judicial, or military, infallibility must reside somewhere; for they must each have a head beyond whose decisions there is no appeal. The Presbyterians saw that to make kings or bishops the head of the church, was but to create a new order of popes. The Independents, looking further, discovered that infallibility no more belonged to presbyteries and synods than to kings and bishops, and so set up each man his own church, and the doctrine of individual infallibility. But each man having discovered that he alone was the true expositor of Scripture, felt it a sacred duty to compel every other man to think and to act on all subjects just as he himself thought and acted. The right of private judgment once successfully asserted, and every man becomes not only a pope for himself, but a pope for other people. What is true in religion is equally true in politics. Conscience requires of every man, if he believes he understands the art of government better than other people, to force other people to conform to his notions. Military despotism, as an approved doctrine and practice, grew out of Calvinism. All Protestants would have been Calvinists but for the stern will and strong arm of Henry VIII. and Elizabeth, who most wisely arrested the downward course of anarchy, by substituting themselves for the deposed popes. Everybody who ever saw a Puritan, or who ever heard or read of a Puritan, knows that from the days of Calvin and Knox, down to those of Cotton Mather, and still later to Parker, Cheever, Wendell Phillips, and John Brown—everybody knows that they have been the same arrogant, self-righteous, conceited race—each man thinking and acting on the belief of his own infallibility, and of other people's fallibility. Every man desiring to be a despot himself, naturally admires and approves despots, provided their rule does not interfere with his own schemes.

History will show that Geneva was the birthplace of modern *isms*, modern infidelity, anarchy, and military despotism. Thousands of Protestants, just after the breaking out of the Reformation, fled from Scotland to Geneva and Frankfort, there imbibed Calvinistic notions, brought them back to Scotland, and thence diffused them through England. Their cruelties and absurdities brought all religion into disrepute and begot English infidelity. Here infidels and Independents worked lovingly together in upsetting the throne, beheading the king, inaugurating anarchy, and setting up the protectorate, to drive out anarchy by military despotism. The French infidelity and the French political philosophy that brought about her revolution came from the school of Geneva and from England. Despite of the oceans of blood which Calvinism has occasioned to be shed, it still sticks to its idols, and reveres equally the memories of John Knox and Calvin, of Cromwell and Napoleon, of Cook and John Brown. The Socialists, or infidel wing of the Calvinists, openly advocate the "sovereignty of the individual," and repudiate in theory all forms of political government, except what they term "self-elected despotism." They but give philosophical terms and expression to Calvinistic practices. Religion and politics cannot be kept apart, for religion has ever been, and will ever be, one of the most potent governmental powers. We shall never hesitate to treat of sects, churches, and creeds, in their political aspects.

In America, the Revolution placed all churches on the political Calvinistic platform, for it freed them all equally from a political head. Moral suasion seemed to be the only engine left to enforce religious conformity. The objections which we have made above to Calvinistic churches apply, in theory, equally to all American churches since that event. The result has been that all Northern churches have exhibited anarchical and schismatic tendencies, while all Southern churches have become eminently conservative, kind, and respectful to each other, and so alike in their moral deportment and whole walk in life that the Christian in one church cannot be distinguished from the Christian in the other churches. This difference between the churches North and South must be entirely owing to difference in social institutions. Our society is historical and biblical, like most of the societies that have existed on earth. We look to the past to guide us in the future. We respect authority, because authority clashes not with our interests or our social forms. We are conservatives, because our system works well. The social and political forms of the North are like nothing in heaven or upon earth. Universal suffrage and

human equality are new things under the sun. They can find no precedents or authority to guide them, because no people were ever similarly circumstanced. They are innovators and Utopians from necessity. They have expelled Nature, God, law, religion, property, marriage, parental and masterly authority, and are mainly attempting to do God's work by substituting free love and communism, "the sovereignty of the individual," and "self-elected despotism," for all old institutions. Half-educated, silly, low-bred, wicked, the refuse of European society, they are the "vile body" which Providence has selected on which to permit the experiment of man-made society to be tried. Its failure will redound to the universal benefit of mankind. It will best teach the lesson that the many were formed to obey, the few to command—that minorities, not majorities, should govern. The institution of domestic slavery alone has sufficed to make the South conservative and religious, and its absence to render the North anarchical and infidel. Cromwell and Bonaparte, like all military despots, destroyed or paralyzed all institutions, and attempted to govern by the sword. To employ terror, to enforce obedience, instead of the mild influence of that authority which the prestige of old and venerable institutions shed around them.

The government of the sword cannot be lasting, because habit divests men of their fears, and further, because the son of a usurper is generally looked on and hated as a mere parvenu, who, without his father's merits, or the prestige of hereditary rights, seeks to succeed to his father's power. The Roman empire was not a mere military despotism. All the admirable institutions of the early days of the republic were retained, and the emperor himself was but a perpetual dictator, an office which the extent of the Roman dominions rendered necessary. The civil law, the most splendid and enduring monument of human genius, grew up under the empire. Never was justice more wisely or impartially administered between man and man than under the very worst of the emperors. The consulate and the senate, though shorn of much of their power, remained, and with the prestige belonging to all old institutions must, by their influence, authority, and counsel, have had greater weight in the general administration of affairs than the emperors themselves, who were generally too ignorant of state affairs to wish to meddle much with them. Religion, too, remained, and that was always felt and recognized as a power in the Roman state. After the time of Constantine it became the chief power of state, and upheld the Roman-Byzantine empire for almost twelve hundred years.

The Roman empire owed its wonderful vitality and duration to its institutions. It was a government of institutions—the only normal, natural, and durable form of government. The government of the sword, when all old institutions have been overthrown or silenced, like those of Bonaparte and Cromwell, may last during the life of a talented, popular, strong-willed usurper. The government of constitutions, like those of Plato, Abbe Sieyes, and Locke, does well if it last six months. Institutions and governments are of natural growth and origin, they are prescriptive; their birth, like the sources of the Nile, is beyond human ken, knowledge, or comprehension. Our governments, State and Federal, are institutional, not constitutional. The forests of ancient Germany, the borders of the Nile and the Jordan, and the fields of Italy, were their birth-places, but neither history nor tradition reaches back to the time of their nativity. We are glad that this subject of institutions is enlisting the attention and the study of the learned and philosophic. This REVIEW, for December, contained an admirable essay on this subject, from the pen of R. Cutter of New-York, entitled *Political Constitutions*. Institutions are conservative, because they are natural—constitutions are charlatanic and Utopian, because they are the attempts of man to expel Nature, and to supply her place and perform her office. Our so-called constitutions are mere selections from and modifications of time-honored institutions.

The institution of slavery, which gives more of strength, unanimity, solidity, and durability, to society, than any other, had been swept away before the days of Bonaparte and Cromwell. The Independents had destroyed the Church in England, and their offspring, the atheists, had done the same thing in France. Cromwell abolished the aristocracy and the legislative branch of government. Napoleon abolished the latter and found the former already abolished. They both over-awed the judiciary, and in fine made a *tabula rasa* of society. Each repented of his folly when too late. They would have erected new institutions in place of those destroyed, but found that institutions may be suppressed, expelled, or destroyed by man, but cannot be made by him. They were not wise reformers like Washington, Solon, Lycurgus, Numa, Confucius, and Alfred, but rash Utopians, like Locke, Plato, Abbe Sieyes, and Jefferson. Since writing thus far we have read some remarks of Mr. Cox, of Ohio, in the House of Representatives, which elucidate and sustain our doctrine, that the overthrow of old institutions lets in the theories of "individual infallibility" in religion, of "individual sovereignty" in politics, and of "free

love" in morals. The majority in this and the preceding Congress are as vulgar, ignorant, and brutal, as the Praise God Barebones Parliament, and ten times more immoral and infidel. Hear Mr. Cox :

"Mr. Cox insisted that Wendell Phillips was a fair exponent of Republican principles, being identical in doctrine with Horace Greeley and Gov. Chase. All these isms, including free love, were connected by the dangerous doctrine of individual sovereignty, which Wendell Phillips preached, and John Brown learned his lessons in the same school. It was true, the people of the Northwest did not approve these doctrines, for the 170,000 Democrats of Ohio repudiated them. In 1860 he believed these revolutionists and insurrectionists would all be overwhelmed if they had a conservative Cincinnati platform, unaltered. He regretted to hear disunion doctrines advanced on that side of the chamber, for the great Northwest was opposed to disunion, *per se*, or per anything else. They could catch the music of the Union as quick as the Highland girl at Lucknow could catch the distant sound of the slogan from the bagpipes of her clan marching to the rescue."

One chief reason why ultra-liberals laud usurpers is, that they break up the line of hereditary descent, and *seem*, practically, to demonstrate that kings do not rule by divine right. This they think the first and necessary step toward the successful assertion of the proposition, that the right to govern society belongs, naturally or divinely, to a majority of the people.

Now, we hold that kings have a divine right to rule, and to transmit to their offspring the right of ruling after them, just as farmers have a divine right to their farms, and to transmit them to their heirs at their deaths. We assume that divinity governs human affairs, and, as the right of kings to rule their kingdoms has been almost universally admitted, may held as the most sacred of all human rights, and next to this right of kings, in respect and sacredness, has ever been the right of landowners to their lands, and in each case, hereditary right and descent have almost always been, under some modification, acknowledged and practical—seeing all this, we hold that there are natural rights, being part of the course of Nature; and natural rights are divine rights, else God is not omnipotent, and does not govern Nature.

Of all the social and political heresies growing out of the emancipation of the feudal slaves and the Reformation, this denial of the divine right of kings has been attended with the most disastrous consequences. It was the immediate cause of the English revolution and all the other European revolutions since that time. It has occasioned the confiscation of millions of church and individual property, and now stands boldly and openly arrayed against the right of individual property and the right of hereditary descent.

We are taught at colleges and at law schools that "property is a conventional, not a natural right;" that "law confers the right to property, and that when it suits public convenience, law may and should take away this right;" that "men have no natural right to dispose of their possessions by will, and their children, or next of kin, no natural right to those possessions in the absence of such will, but that legatees, devisees, children, and next of kin, derive their right solely from the law. The law giveth and the law may take away." Now in all these instances law but follows, affirms, and modifies nature. Nature is various, yet consistent, and although the right to private property and hereditary right be universally acknowledged rights, yet circumstances may qualify and modify the precise character of these rights, and laws are made only to meet these varying circumstances.

It was an admirable remark of Professor Holmes, that semi-socialism is more common and more dangerous than socialism, because more insidious. The dull, commonplace orthodox people of the world say that individual property is a mere creature of the law, but there is a *vis inertiae*, a sickly, weak conservatism about these commonplace people that inclines them not to disturb or alter the law. They occupy the standpoint of semi-socialism, and are resolved not to stir an inch farther. The men of genius, however, with singular unanimity (except in slave society), say that private property has become a nuisance, and should be abated. They show that the laboring classes are starving in Europe and our North, not because their industry does not produce enough to support them abundantly, but because capital (property) fleeces them of their earnings. "Property is a thief." This apothegm is the inexorable sequence from the denial of the divine right of kings. Regicides but teach "bloody instructions, which, being taught, return to plague the inventor." The eulogists of Cromwell and Napoleon must accept this doctrine, that "private property is a nuisance," to be consistent.

Mr. Macaulay is the most eloquent of declaimers, and the weakest of philosophers. He never sees beyond his nose, and therefore never foresees the legitimate deductions which profounder and more logical minds will draw from his theories and admissions. He is sowing the seeds of anarchy broadcast because he has no idea of the character of the crop which he so assiduously cultivates. Carlyle is a man of genius, but he is reckless, rash, bold, original, affected, and half-ideal. He is right in saying "the world is too little governed;" wrong in repudiating institutions, forms, ceremonies, or "phantasms,"

as he calls them, and relying on the government of mere force and the naked sword. Queen Victoria is a sham, a phantasm, yet because she is the incumbent of an old and venerated institution, the throne of England, her government is wiser and milder, and yet more powerful and efficient, than that of any military usurper that ever lived.

No portions of history show more clearly how deeply imbedded are the idea, the faith, and the reverence for hereditary right, in the human mind, than the histories of France and England after the death of Cromwell and the fall of Napoleon. People and politicians should adapt themselves to such natural feelings, not attempt to expel them. The English are a cautious and practical people, and always consult nature rather than speculative philosophy in matters of government. They have respected hereditary right in the main, venturing only slightly to modify it. Queen Victoria traces her royal descent back to Cerdic, beyond the bound of history, into the misty regions of tradition.

Never was prince welcomed to the throne with such enthusiastic joy and hearty acclamation as Charles II. Never despot so despised and execrated as Cromwell. His body, taken from Westminster Abbey and flung into the Thames, sealed the verdict of his infamy. No eloquence of declamation, no ingenuity of sophistry, no coloring, and no distortion of facts, can ever reverse that verdict. The enthusiasm with which the return of Charles was welcomed, shows the almost reverential attachment of the people to hereditary right. The execration of the memory of Cromwell, on the other hand, evinces the natural hatred and contempt which all mankind entertain for parvenus and usurpers. The two facts prove how important it is to preserve old institutions, such as hereditary royalty in England. It is the office, the institution that governs, rather than the incumbent. The popedom is a memorable instance of this truth. There have been many weak and wicked popes, yet veneration for the office makes it grow stronger as it grows older.

In the settlement of the crown, in 1688, England afforded another example of the respect for hereditary right. The Parliament only ventured to substitute a Protestant female branch of the House of Stuart, instead of the dethroned Catholic branch — for the House of Hanover is descended from James I.

France exhibited the same attachment to hereditary right. After wickedly beheading Louis XVI., and trying, first, Jacobinical anarchy, then the military despotism of Napoleon

she restores the Bourbons to the throne. Finding the rule of the direct line intolerable, like England, she substitutes a collateral branch—the house of Orleans. But revolution had not spent its fury in France, and Louis Philippe was expelled to make room for the rule of socialism and anarchy. All men prefer military despotism to anarchy, and all France welcomed the usurpation of Napoleon III. But the end is not yet. While military despotism is preferable to anarchy, hereditary rule is far preferable to usurped military rule.

Nature is various, and adopts herself to circumstances. Elective republican government is sometimes natural and best, but hereditary monarchy is the most natural, and therefore has ever been the most common form of government. Kings must be of royal, or at least noble descent, to gratify and satisfy the innate and almost universal propensity of mankind, to reverence that mysterious thing—a noble pedigree, that traces back to no plebeian origin. Greece is well governed by a German prince. She would not have submitted to a Greek, however distinguished. A parvenu *king* is so universally despised that usurpers are always afraid to adopt the title. Brazil is admirably governed by a scion of the royal house of Portugal. The rest of South America have no respectable or durable governments, because they need the clay that kings are made of, and have not sufficient virtue and intelligence to sustain republican governments. We write this for the special benefit of New-England. When she quits the Union, and is annexed to Canada, we advise her, by all means, to get Victoria and Prince Albert to procure one of their poor German royal cousins to rule over them. They have hundreds of such cousins, any one of whom would make a better king than the wealthiest and most enlightened member of the codfish aristocracy.

We dwell upon this subject of the Divine hereditary right of kings, because it is one of pressing and practical importance to every owner of lands and slaves, to every owner of real property, or of property of any sort, in America. Property is assailed—labor is arrayed against capital—laborers are more numerous by far than property-holders, and they are led on by men of greater genius and audacity than any who have undertaken to defend the rights of property. The infection has not reached the South, nor will it if we are properly prepared for its approach.

If kings have no natural right to their thrones and their kingdoms, Southern planters have far less natural right to their dominions and their subjects. They are but little kings, with farms for kingdoms and slaves for subjects. Bishop Meade is

right in treating the old African slave-trade as a providential movement. We hold our slaves by the will of Providence, by Divine right. The settlement of America by whites, and the expulsion of the Indians, were also providential movements. We hold our lands also by Divine right. Our titles to our properties are as good as those of kings to their thrones. As good, but no better. Let us beware how we run a tilt against hereditary monarchy, for we are hereditary monarchs ourselves.

It is not inconsistent with the idea of Divine right, that the title may be forfeited for crime or incapacity; but it is wrong and dangerous to attain the blood, unless the heir be as criminal, or incapable, as the ancestor.

Had Cromwell restored the Stuarts, and Bonaparte the Bourbons, they might have given peace to their countries. At all events, the self-abnegation of such acts would have evinced moral greatness, and rendered them deservedly illustrious. In our estimate of human greatness, the chief element is the readiness to sacrifice self for country. Cromwell and Napoleon sacrificed country to self. Notoriety, not fame, is what they deserve. The morbid appetite for excitement is ever ready to make heroes of those who administer to this vicious taste, and will canonize a John Brown in default of a better subject for admiration. Great crimes excite more of wonder and admiration than great virtues. Hence few can appreciate the greatness of Washington, while all admire Napoleon, and too many are ready to palliate the crimes, cruelty, brutality, and hypocrisy even of Cromwell. With the masses, a wonderful man is a great man, whether he fire a magazine which destroys the lives and possessions of thousands of his neighbors, or calmly resigns his life, like Leonidas, to defend, or to save his country.

We propose to take but a single view of the character of Washington. All admit that his moral and intellectual faculties were finely balanced and proportioned, and hence resulted his admirable judgment and lofty morality. Yet few give him credit for genius. Now genius, like other moral terms, is susceptible of no exact definition. We might well contend that a character resulting from the proper balance of good moral and intellectual faculties, exhibited in itself the highest order of genius. But even in the narrow sense in which the term is usually employed, Washington was a man of decided genius. He had but little advantage of school education, and left school entirely before he was sixteen years of age. He acquired with ease and rapidity whatever was taught in his school, and exhibited a strong predilection for mathematics.

He became a distinguished practical surveyor while yet a boy, and had attained so much reputation that at nineteen years of age he was appointed to a military command of much dignity and responsibility. At twenty-one years of age his reputation for courage, judgment, and enterprise, stood as high as that of any man in the colony of Virginia. At this age he was selected to fulfil an important mission to the French and Western Indians.

He discharged the duties pertaining to his perilous and responsible mission with distinguished ability, and won universal admiration. Dull *men*, by assiduous labor, often become proficient and distinguished in their callings; but dull *boys* never win distinction. Washington's early career affords conclusive evidence of genius, urged on by a generous and noble ambition. Like Bonaparte and Wellington his genius was mathematical and military. The fine balance of intellectual and moral faculties which he acquired in after-life was owing to his early converse with affairs, and his pure domestic associations. Washington possessed not only genius, but a lofty soul and undaunted courage, impelled and directed by a quick, cultivated, and comprehensive intellect. His reading was rather select than extensive, but quite sufficient to direct his observation of men, manners, and events. Ushered early into life, no man ever had better opportunities to become wise from observation and experience, and no one ever better improved his opportunities. His perception was quick and delicate, his comprehension broad and profound, and hence he readily generalized, digested, and assimilated all facts brought to his attention by reading or observation, and deduced from them wise and useful practical conclusions. His writings and his conversation exhibited not knowledge, but that wisdom which is the result of thoroughly digested knowledge. He united to genius—which too often misleads and betrays—wisdom and virtue, the only safe guides of human conduct.

Too much learning and reading are quite as common, and far more disgusting than too little. The intellectual dyspeptic, the man who has read a great deal, and reflected very little, who has swallowed his knowledge whole, and retained it undigested and unassimilated in his memory, and who is ever ready to repeat and retail it in this crude state to the weary listener, is the most intolerable of human bores. No doubt Horace's *Sacra via* acquaintance, who addressed him, *Nos sumus literati!* and stuck to him like a leech, was one of these learned fools.

Bonaparte's world was the military school and the camp.

He became too good a soldier to be good at anything else. He looked on men as mere automata. He was grossly materialistic, and underrated human nature. He ignored all moral motives in the government of the world, and relied solely on physical and pecuniary forces—on men and money. Although the distinction of his early life was entirely owing to the revolutionary fervor and enthusiasm of the French, not to their numbers, yet in later life he relied entirely on the superior number of men that he could bring into the field, and on the amount of bribery which he could offer to his enemies. The Cossacks taught him, too late, that numbers cannot conquer men who love their government and their country. That even in war, moral force, in the long run, conquers physical force. Bonaparte was really a very weak, because a very bad man. He acted upon the presumption that mankind were controlled in their conduct only by base, sordid, and selfish motives. Hence the latter part of his career was more distinguished for the number and magnitude of his defeats, than the former part for the brilliancy of his victories. His genius for mathematics and military science was unduly developed naturally, and carried to extravagant excess by his education, and camp life and habits. His mind became one-sided, and hence he saw and judged of all things through the artificial and distorted medium of his profession. History exhibits no instance of human littleness to compare with his conduct in St. Helena. So far from exhibiting moral grandeur, calm composure, and dignified resignation, his impatience and his petulancy present a startling resemblance to the ferocious tiger restlessly pacing his cage, snarling, growling, and thirsting for blood. In very truth, the man had sunk into the beast of prey. He felt it, and regretted it; for before his banishment he had said, he was only fitted for a camp life. A Fejee chieftain could not have admitted more.

Wellington was a truly great man. Ambitious, but only ambitious, like Washington, to win fame by the honorable, faithful, and brilliant discharge of duty, he was a gentleman and a patriot, and no temptation could have induced him to practise the hypoerisy, duplicity, and falsehood of a Cromwell or a Bonaparte. He was no mere soldier, but also a learned scholar and wise, practical statesman. Yet he had lived too much in camp, and carried the manner of the martinet into civil life. Washington acquired and practised that exact system, punctuality, and precision, which are best learned in military life. But he knew where to drop the professional manner, and did not make a merit of order and punctuality, and parade them

to view or obtrude them to notice. He had the *ars celare artem*. Although the most systematic of farmers, he only appeared at Mount Vernon as the retired statesman and private gentleman. His education and early life were eminently calculated to give to him that finely balanced character which elevates him above all the great men of modern times; yet it is a great mistake to suppose that because he was not odd and eccentric that therefore he possessed no genius.

If perpetrating mischief on the grand scale constitute human greatness, then Bonaparte was the greatest of men, and Cromwell quite a considerable human butcher.

There is one view of the rising admiration for these usurpers and military despots from which a useful moral may be deduced. Except in the South, the times are out of joint, anarchy seems impending, and men naturally look to usurpation and military despotism as the preventive or cure for anarchy. Order, subordination, security of person and property, all men desire. These are best secured by old laws, old offices, and old institutions, to which society has become accustomed, habituated, and adapted, and has learned to respect, to obey, and to venerate. But laws, and institutions, and the habits, feelings, and sentiments, which adapt men to them, are of slow growth and accretion. Anarchy is not tolerable for a day, and the liberals who invoked it, frightened at its approach, are ready and anxious to call in the bloody hand of self-elected despotism to exorcise the demon they have raised.

Tyranny which enforces order and affords security to person and property against all, save the tyrant who governs, has always been popular. We do not recollect a single popular prince or governor in all history who was not a tyrant, except Charles II. of England. Charles, though no tyrant himself, gave full scope to the natural appetite for tyranny, by permitting the people to play at Kilkenny-cats, and tyrannize over each other. He was a man of amiable feelings, an affable and accomplished gentleman, a man of taste and wit, and a practical philosopher. He saw that his father had fallen a victim to his clemency and his virtue, and that the people who murdered him were fawning, spaniel-like, before himself, who had inherited none of his father's virtues. Seeing all this, he justly contemned and despised the nation, and left them to torture and torment each other, while he was satisfied to "eat, drink, and love." His character was the material outgrowth of the times, and he played his *rolé* to perfection. He has been misunderstood and underrated.

This is a digression. But Charles is one of our historical

favorites. Indeed, everybody loves Charles and his great-grandmother, Mary of Scotland, they sinned so gracefully; and everybody hates John Knox, Cromwell, his Roundheads and Puritans, and their descendants, John Brown, Cook, and Copic. The vices of the former were light, venial, and graceful; the crimes of the latter, vulgar, brutal, disgusting, and horrible.

To return to our tyrants. Alexander the Great and Augustus Cæsar were both tyrants, yet the most popular and beloved of ancient potentates. Julius Cæsar was mild, indulgent, and forgiving, and like Charles I. and Louis XVI., he fell a martyr to his virtues. Henry VIII. was the most cruel tyrant and the most popular prince that ever ruled England. Had Elizabeth been a man, no doubt she would have been equally cruel and equally popular. She played her part pretty well for a woman, and was exceedingly tyrannical and exceedingly beloved. The Plantagenets, the only military heroes of England, were all tyrants, and almost all deservedly popular. Louis XVI. and Charles V. were very tyrannical, and they acquired the title of Great. But the list would be endless. The tyrannical captains of vessels are beloved, the amiable captains beget mutinies, and are murdered, &c., &c.

Men prefer tyranny and good social order, to liberty and anarchy—*Quod erat demonstrandum.*

ART. IV.—GENERAL WALKER'S POLICY IN CENTRAL AMERICA.

THE QUESTION OF CIVILIZATION AND LABOR.

[General William Walker, whose Nicaraguan movements have attracted so much attention within the past few years, has been devoting himself recently to the preparation of a work which shall develop very fully the facts and circumstances of his eventful career in Nicaragua, and establish the justice and policy of the principles which he has sought to inaugurate in that country. The work will be one of the most interesting and readable of the day. We have been favored with an inspection of the manuscripts, and are permitted to publish the following from them, as being, in our opinion, the most likely to attract attention from our readers.—Ed.]

THE policy of the Walker government was, of course, the same as that of Rivas, so far as the introduction of the white race into Nicaragua was concerned. But the administration of Rivas was, from its nature, transitional. It sought to increase the American element without inquiring what place the new people were to occupy in the old society. Rivas and his

cabinet felt that Nicaraguan society required reorganization; but they knew not how it was to be accomplished. Nor would they have adopted the means necessary for the end even if the proper measures had been pointed out to them. Hence when the reorganization, not merely of the state, but of the family and of labor, became necessary, another executive than Rivas was not a matter of choice. Not merely the secondary form of the crystal was to be modified, but the primary form was to be radically changed; and for this a new force was to be brought into play. It may be that the reorganization in Nicaragua was attempted too soon; but those who have read may judge whether or not the Americans were driven forward by the force of events. Sooner or later the struggle between the old and the new forms of society must inevitably have occurred.

The difference of language between the members of the old society and that portion of the white race necessarily dominant in the new, while it was a cause of keeping the elements apart, afforded also a means of regulating the relations between the several races meeting on the same soil. In order that the laws of the Republic might be thoroughly published it was decreed that they should be published in English as well as in Spanish. The reason of this was apparent to every one; but the object of another clause in the same decree, that "all documents connected with public affairs shall be of equal value whether written in English or Spanish," was not noticed except by the careful observer. By this clause the proceedings of all the courts and the record of all the deeds in the state might be made in English. It was not necessary to decree that all such records should be in English; the mere permission was sufficient to accomplish the object. Lawyers will readily see what an advantage such a clause gave to those speaking both English and Spanish over those acquainted only with the latter language.

The decree concerning the use of the two languages tended to make the ownership of the lands of the state fall into the hands of those speaking English. But, in addition to this, a decree was published declaring the property of all enemies of the state forfeited to the Republic; and a Board of Commissioners was named "to take possession of, direct, determine upon, and sell all such confiscated or forfeited properties." The Board was given the ordinary powers of courts for citation, for examining witnesses, and for enforcing obedience to its orders. All property declared confiscated was to be sold soon after the rendition of the judgment; and military scrip

was to be received in payment of the sale of said property, thus giving those who had been in the military service of the state an opportunity to secure their pay out of the estates of the persons engaged in the war against them. The land titles in Nicaragua were in a very unsettled condition, and the same system prevailed there as in other Spanish-American States. The limits of grants were indeterminate, and there was, of course, no registry law. Accordingly, in order to fix the number of outstanding grants from the Republic, a decree was published requiring all claims to land to be recorded within six months; and it was further decreed that after a certain date no conveyance or mortgage should be valid against third parties unless duly recorded in the district where the land lay. This was a substitution of the English and American system for the rules of the Roman and Continental law. The recording of titles is undoubtedly for the public advantage; and those possessed of good titles to land in Nicaragua would, in virtue of this decree, have held their possessions by a tenure more certain than ever. But the system was fatal to the bad or uncertain titles. It also gave an advantage to those familiar with the habit of registry.

The general tendency of these several decrees was the same; they were intended to place a large proportion of the land of the country in the hands of the white race. The military force of the state might, for a time, secure the Americans in the government of the Republic, but, in order that their possession of government might be permanent, it was requisite for them to hold the land. But the natives, who had held the lands for more than a generation, admitted that the cultivated fields had diminished in number and extent every year since the independence, for the want of a proper system of labor; hence, according to the admission of all parties, the reorganization of labor was necessary for the development of the resources of the country.

In order to command the labor already in the country a decree was issued for enforcing contracts for terms of service. A stringent decree against vagrants was also published; and this was a measure of military caution as well as of political economy. When Martinez set about recruiting in Matagalpa the men scattered on the farms of Chontales and Los Llanos, repaired to Granada in order to escape the pressgang. But these men had nearly all been in the employ of legitimist masters, and, when gathered in the city, there was danger of their being used for bad purposes. Few of them had any visible means of livelihood, and hence most would have come

under the provisions of the decree concerning vagrants. As they had little disposition for work they soon disappeared after the publication of the decree, and thus a population which, at the time, might have proved dangerous around Granada, was got rid of.

The decree of the 22d of September was, however, the measure from which most was to be expected for organizing the labor of the country. This was the act around which the whole policy of the administration revolved; and, as it has been much criticised, it may be well to give the decree entire. It reads:

"Inasmuch as the Constituent Assembly of the Republic, on the 30th day of April, 1838, declared the state free, sovereign, and independent, dissolving the compact which the Federal Constitution established between Nicaragua and the other States of Central America:

"Inasmuch as, since that date, Nicaragua has been, in fact, free from the obligations the Federal Constitution imposed:

"Inasmuch as the act of the Constituent Assembly decreed, on the 30th of April, 1838, provides that federal decrees given previous to that date shall remain in force unless contrary to the provisions of that act:

"Inasmuch as many of the decrees theretofore given are unsuited to the present condition of the Republic, and are repugnant to its welfare and prosperity, as well as to its territorial integrity; Therefore, it is

"DECREED:

"ARTICLE 1. All Acts and Decrees of the Federal Constituent Assembly, as well as of the Federal Congress, are declared null and void.

"ARTICLE 2. Nothing herein contained shall affect rights heretofore vested under the acts and decrees hereby repealed."

One of the earliest acts of the Federal Constituent Assembly was the abolition of slavery in Central America; and as this, among other acts, was repealed by the decree of the 22d September, it was generally supposed the latter re-established slavery in Nicaragua. Whether this be a strictly legal deduction may be doubted; but the repeal of the prohibition clearly prepared the way for the introduction of slavery. The spirit and intention of the decree were apparent; nor did its authors affect to conceal its objects in its publication. By this act must the Walker administration be judged. In fact, the wisdom or folly of this decree involves the wisdom or folly of the American movement in Nicaragua; for, on the re-establishment of African slavery there depends the permanent presence of the white race in that region. If the slavery decree, as it has been called, was unwise, Cabañas and Jerez were right when they sought to use the Americans for the mere purpose of raising one native faction and repressing another. Without such labor as the new decree gave, the Americans could have played no other part in Central America than that of the pretorian guard at Rome, or of the janissaries of the

East; and for such degrading service as this they were ill suited by the habits and traditions of their race.

The difference between the colonial system of the English and Spanish crowns, explains the different results of the English and Spanish settlements in America. The colonies of Great Britain founded their own forms of society: they made for themselves, all the rules and regulations their new situation required, and hence, they built firmly the foundations of a peculiar and original civilization. Their institutions sprang from their necessities, and were hence adapted to the climate, and the soil they found in the new continent. But it was far otherwise with the Spanish possessions. The laws of the Indies were decreed by the crown: and the regulations, sometimes for good, but oftener for evil, were the result of monarchical will. In the case of Cuba, the resolution of Isabella was swayed by the counsels of the benevolent Las Casas; and Spain owes her possession of the island at the present moment, to the wise philanthropy of the simple-hearted priest. Negro-slavery is, without doubt, the cause of the present prosperity of the island, as well as of its continued colonial government; and Cuba affords a fine contrast to Jamaica and St. Domingo, and displays to advantage, the superior wisdom of Spain, when compared with the false humanity of France and England. On the continent, however, Spain was not so fortunate as on the ever-faithful isle. Her conquest of force, was there followed by no radical and permanent changes, in political organization. She carried thither the Roman law; but it did not inform the new society, or breathe a fresh spirit into its institutions. The only real changes in Mexico and Peru, for example, were wrought by the church. The pagans of the continent were converted to Christianity, and the mission fathers reclaimed the wild tribes from their savagism, teaching them agriculture, and the ruder arts of life. Beyond the protection the crown afforded the church, in its labors for the reconstruction of society, the Spanish government did little for its vast continental possessions. Slavery on the continent was not more than what the physiologists call a "trace;" and it soon yielded to the passions which followed the independence of the colonies.

The men who framed the Constitution of the United States, were not beyond the control of the influence which, in France, led to the horrors of Hayti, and, in England, to the miseries of Jamaica. The wits and philosophers of the constitutional convention—the strong reason of Franklin, and the brilliant genius of Hamilton, as well as the lofty soul of Washington, were not

unaffected by the errors of the French reformers of the period. The mad rhapsodies of Rousseau, the sharp keen sarcasm of Voltaire, had infected the readers of that time with a sort of hydrophobia—a mortal aversion to the word *slavery*. Hamilton and Washington, though struggling against French notions, were still under the influence, to some extent, of the Genevese ravings about equality and fraternity. Mr. Jefferson not only yielded to the French fashions of thought and feeling, but actually cherished them, as if they were the fruits of reason and philosophy. While such causes operated on the American leaders of the time, the people of that period were tainted with the notions of the English Buxton and Clarkson. The dissenters of Great Britain infused their opinion about the slave-trade into their religious brethren in America, and thus, by the union of French philosophy with English humanitarianism, the constitution of 1787 was burdened with clauses, of which the evil effect is now constantly felt by the slaveholding community of the United States.

If the strong, broad minds of the constitutional convention of 1787, were not able to resist entirely the opinions prevalent in France and England concerning slavery, how much less were the poor imitative creatures of Spanish policy, left to her American colonies after the independence, able to withstand the prejudices of the European world. Spain had, in fact, left them too little slavery to preserve their social order. Instead of maintaining the purity of the races, as the English had done in their settlements, the Spaniards had cursed their continental possessions with a mixed race. Hence it would have been little less than a miracle, if the Spanish American states, had, at the moment of independence, decided to retain slavery in their midst. It is only of late years that the really beneficial and conservative character of negro-slavery has begun to be appreciated in the United States.

For a long time it was the fashion, and with many it still is, to regard the Northern States of the Federal Union as the conservative element of American society. It is true that the Northern States are the conservative element of the federal government, because the Union is nearly altogether the creature of their will and of their interests. Therefore, on all occasions, they have sought to strengthen the federal power through tariffs and banks, and large schemes of internal improvement. But such conservatism as this does not touch the organic structure of society, it merely determines its external forms and appearance. The conservatism of slavery is deeper than this; it goes to the vital relations of capital toward labor, and by the firm footing it gives the former, it enables the

intellect of society to push boldly forward in the pursuit of new forms of civilization. At present it is the struggle of free labor with slave-labor, which prevents the energies of the former from being directed against the capital of the North through the ingenious machinery of the ballot-box and universal suffrage; and it is difficult to conceive how capital can be secured from the attacks of the majority in a pure democracy, unless with the aid of a force which gets its strength from slave labor.

The Spanish-American states, after their independence, aimed to establish republics without slavery; and the history of forty years of disorder and public crime is fertile in lesions for him who had eyes to see and ears to hear. Carried away by his imagination or rather by his sensibilities, Mr. Clay pleaded the cause of Spanish-American independence, and anticipated good government as the result of the movement. The policy he urged was undoubtedly wise both for the United States and for England, inasmuch as it opened the old Spanish colonies to other commercial nations. But the effects of independence have not been beneficial on the people of the colonies themselves. Spain gave order, at least, to the possessions she held in the New World; and order, attended as it was by exaction, sometimes even by extortion, was better than the anarchy of so-called republican rule. In Nicaragua, whole tracts, which were cultivated under the Spanish dominion, have gone to waste since the independence, and the indigo of the Isthmus, which, even ten years ago, was a valuable article of export, has disappeared almost entirely from trade.

If Spain, then, failed to leave her colonies with the internal force or the system capable of reorganizing their independent society, the plan immediately suggests itself of applying to them the rules which have constructed a firm and harmonious civilization where the Anglo-American has found himself on the same soil with one of the colored races. The introduction of negro-slavery into Nicaragua would furnish a supply of constant and reliable labor requisite for the cultivation of tropical products. With the negro-slave, as his companion, the white man would become fixed to the soil, and they together would destroy the power of the mixed race which is the bane of the country. The pure Indian would readily fall into the new social organization; for he does not aim at political power, and only asks to be protected in the fruits of his industry. The Indian of Nicaragua, in his fidelity and docility, as well as in his capacity for labor, approaches nearly the negro of the United States; and he would readily assume the manners

and habits of the latter. In fact, the manners of the Indian toward the ruling race are now more submissive than those of the American negro toward his master.

Some, however, may urge that the climate of tropical America is unfavorable to the African negro. This idea has been set afloat by some statistics a British officer has published, in reference to the comparative vitality of the European and negro regiments in Jamaica. The figures, as given, go to show that the average mortality is greater among the negro than among the European regiments; and even Dr. Josiah Nott has been led to quote these statistics with approval, and to infer that tropical America is not suited to the African. But the figures of the British officer may be read in another sense, and probably with a nearer approach to natural laws. It is not the climate but the profession of soldiers which destroys so rapidly the negro regiments of Jamaica. No avocation of life requires so much intelligence, so much knowledge of the laws of life, and so much resolution and self-denial in adhering to them, as that of the soldier. The great difference between a veteran and a raw recruit is that one knows how to take care of himself and the other does not. But you can never make a veteran of the negro; he remains always in the condition of a recruit, and hence negro regiments will have the health and vitality of regiments of recruits. No one who has seen the negro in tropical America will, for a moment, allow the accuracy of the deduction hastily drawn from the regimental returns of Jamaica.

In Nicaragua the negro seems to be in his natural climate. The blacks who have gone thither from Jamaica are healthy, strong, and capable of severe labor. They were much employed by the Accessory Transit Company on the San Juan river and at Virgin Bay; and even on the lake and river they bore the toil and exposure to the sun as well as the natives of the country. In fact, the negro blood seems to assert its superiority over the indigenous Indian of Nicaragua. Some of the negro and mulatto officers in the Legitimist army were remarkable among their fellows for courage and energy, though with these qualities were generally joined cruelty and ferocity.

The advantage of negro-slavery in Nicaragua would, therefore, be two-fold; while it would furnish certain labor for the use of agriculture, it would tend to separate the races and destroy the mixed breeds who cause the disorder which has prevailed in the country since the independence. But there are many who, while admitting the advantage of slavery to Nicaragua, think it was impolitic to have attempted its estab-

lishment at the time the decree of the 22d of September was published. This brings us to consider the decree in its relations with the question of slavery in the United States.

At the time the decree was published it was clear that the Americans in Nicaragua would be called on to defend themselves against the forces of four allied states. Their cause was right and just, but it then appeared to touch themselves only. Up to that time there was no American interest in the country save that of the army and of the Transit Company: hence it was expedient by some positive act to bind to the cause for which the naturalized Nicaraguans were contending, some strong and powerful interest in the United States. The decree re-establishing slavery, while it declared the manner in which the Americans proposed to regenerate Nicaraguan society, made them the champions of the Southern States of the Union in the conflict, truly styled "irrepressible," between free and slave labor. The policy of the act consisted in pointing out to the Southern States the only means, short of revolution, whereby they can preserve their present social organization.

In 1856, the South began to perceive that all territory hereafter acquired by the federal government would necessarily enure to the use and benefit of free labor. The emigrant from the free labor States moves easily and readily into the territories; and the surplus of population being greater at the North than at the South, the majority in any new territory would, certainly, be from the anti-slavery region. Besides this, the South has no surplus labor to send westward or southward. On the contrary, the Gulf States are crying out for more negroes, and the uneasiness of Southern society results from the superabundance of its intellect and capital in proportion to its rude labor. It is impossible, in the present condition of affairs, for the South to get the labor it lacks; and the only means of restoring the balance to its industry is to send its unemployed intellect to a field where no political obstacles prevent it from getting the labor it requires.

There are, however, some people in the Southern States who condemn every effort to extend slavery, because, they say, it irritates the anti-slavery sentiment, and thus feeds and strengthens the hostility to Southern society. With them the great cure for abolitionism is rest and inaction on the part of the slaveholders. But such are the shallowest of thinkers. It is impossible to keep down the discussion of the slavery question in the United States. The question is one which touches the whole labor of the country, and involves the vital relations of

capital with labor, and this is the great question which, in all ages and all countries, has divided States and societies. Hence it is idle to speak of the question being settled, and from the nature of things, the contest between free and slave labor is "still beginning, never ending."

In September, 1856, the canvass for the Presidency was developing the passions and prejudices of the several sections of the Union, and one of the great parties of the country, in convention assembled, had declared its sympathy and pledged its support to the efforts then being made to regenerate Central America. These promises and pledges were made by the party which relied on the slave States for its success, and it should have looked with favor on a measure which tended to strengthen slavery in the Southern States. But the manner in which the free labor democracy of the North received the decree re-establishing slavery in Nicaragua, is a proof of the hollowness of its professions of friendship for Southern interests. There was scarcely a voice raised in defence of the measure north of the Potomac; though the free labor States may find, when it is too late, that the only way to avoid revolution and a conflict of force, between the Northern and Southern States of the Union, is by the very policy Nicaragua proposed to establish.

It is true, the author of the slavery decree was not aware at the time it was published, of the strong and universal feeling which exists in the Northern States against Southern society. He did not know how thoroughly anti-slavery sentiments prevailed in the free labor States: that they are taught in schools, preached from the pulpit, and instilled by mothers into the minds of their children, from infancy upward. But the knowledge of such a state of feeling would have made the publication of the decree a matter of sacred duty no less than of policy. To avert the invasion which threatens the South, it is necessary for her to break through the barriers which now surround her on every side, and carry the war between the two forms of labor beyond her own limits. A beleaguered force, with no ally outside, must yield to famine at last, unless it can make a sally and burst through the enemy which confines it.

While the slavery decree was calculated to bind the Southern States to Nicaragua, as if she were one of themselves, it was also a disavowal of any desire for annexation to the Federal Union. And it was important, in every respect, to make it appear that the American movement in Nicaragua did not contemplate annexation. This idea constantly haunted the minds of the public men of the Union, little accustomed to regard

political questions, except from party points of view. It disturbed the mind of Mr. Pierce when he wrote his message at the reception of Father Vigil: it worried Mr. Marcy when he contemplated the future fate of the Democratic party. And it was, without doubt, the uncertainty the Secretary of State felt in regard to the effect the Nicaraguan movement might have on party action in the United States, which prompted him to frown on the enterprise from the beginning. Mr. Marcy was an old man, ambitious of yet higher station than he had held under the federal government: and his experience enabled him to calculate with nice accuracy, the weight of old party issues in conventions and popular elections. But here was a new element about to be thrown into the politics of the Union; and to the distrust of new things, common to age, was added the inability of the Secretary to estimate precisely the force and direction of the Nicaraguan movement. To show the spirit of Mr. Marcy, it is only necessary to state, that when the decree repealing the act of the Federal Constituent Assembly and Federal Congress was published in Nicaragua, Mr. Wheeler advised his government of the fact, and merely remarked he thought it a measure of advantage for the Isthmus. The dispatch of Mr. Wheeler was, according to excellent authority, discussed in a full meeting of Mr. Pierce's Cabinet. Mr. Marcy and Mr. Cushing insisted on the immediate recall of the minister: while Mr. Davis and Mr. Dobbin defended Mr. Wheeler, saying he had done nothing but his duty in advising the government of the decree published in Nicaragua, and of the effect it was likely to produce on the country. The Secretary of State insisted on the dismissal of Mr. Wheeler to the last; and only the day before he left office he required of the President as a personal favor that he should procure the resignation of the minister.

The decree of the 22d of September was intended to destroy the delusion of the public men of the United States as to the desire of Nicaragua for annexation. To a thinking mind it was apparent that to enter the Federal Union would be to defeat the object of the decree; for the federal law prohibits the introduction within the limits of its authority of any persons held to labor for a term of years. Nicaragua could not expect to draw her negro labor from States already complaining of the deficiency of their own supply, and the Southern States would themselves have opposed the annexation of a territory which might drain from them the labor they so much need. In the heat of party passion, however, such views were not appreciated by the politicians of whom Mr. Marcy

was a type. They were too much absorbed in watching the currents of popular opinion, and in distributing the spoils of party warfare, to devote any time to the consideration of the public weal, or of a true and just public policy.

So far were the politicians of the Union from perceiving it was Walker's policy, by the slavery decree, to declare his hostility to annexation, that some of them supposed they had achieved a discovery by the publication of certain letters instructing Goicouria as to the course he should pursue in England. The intendente general was authorized by Walker to proceed to London, in order to impress on the English cabinet the fact that Nicaragua had no desire for admission into the American Union; and it was supposed that he, being a Cuban, might more readily get the ear of the British ministry on the subject than a native of the United States. The letter of Walker to Goicouria instructed him to explain that the necessities of Nicaragua require "a republic based on military principles," such a republic being clearly unfit for admission into the American Union. The English would readily perceive that the growth of such a republic toward the Southern limits of the United States would tend to restrain the territorial extension of the latter power, Walker conceiving that by such a policy he would promote the welfare of his native, no less than of his adopted country; for the acquisition of the United States of any territory covered by a Spanish American population would be fertile of troubles and dangers to the confederacy as well as of suffering and oppression to the inhabitants of the new territory. Above all, the acquisition of territory in the South would be fatal to the slaveholding States; for it would complete the circle of free-labor communities now girdling them on almost every side.

In France it would have been easier than in England to make the anti-annexation character of the slavery decree apparent. M. Ange de St. Priest, a savant who has published a large and valuable work on the antiquities of Mexico and Central America, accepted the office of consul-general for Nicaragua at Paris; and it was hoped through him to establish relations with the imperial government. The steady policy of Napoleon the Third has been to increase the tonnage of France, and thereby to enlarge her facilities for educating sailors. It was hoped that such a treaty might have been made as would lead to the employment of French bottoms for bringing African apprentices to the ports of Nicaragua, thus furnishing labor to the latter republic, and increasing the trade of French ships. The emperor has himself written a work on

the subject of the interoceanic canal through Nicaragua; and his familiarity with the country would enable him to perceive the advantages of carrying negro labor thither. Next, too, to the possession of the Isthmus by France, he would desire to have the canal route in the hands of a power bound to the empire by strong ties of interest and trade.

In fact it is the decided interest of all the continental powers of Europe to favor the policy the Americans proposed to pursue in Nicaragua. By this policy they would secure tropical products at a much cheaper price than at present; and Russia particularly needs a supply of such articles from a country not under the control or influence of England. Even Great Britain, if she would look beyond the immediate gains of her grasping merchants, might perceive permanent advantages from the security and order negro labor would give to Nicaragua. Now that the crown has taken the government of India from a trading corporation, it might disdain to be moved by the narrow commercial jealousy which sacrificed Jamaica to the East India Company.

But it may be said that England will never permit anything which looks like the revival of the African slave-trade. They, however, who watch closely the phases of British politics know that the influence of Exeter Hall is on the wane. The frenzy of the British public against the slave-trade has exhausted itself, and men have begun to perceive that they were led into error by the benevolent enthusiasm of parsons who knew more about Greek and Hebrew than they did about physiology or political economy, and of middle-aged maiden ladies smitten with the love of general humanity, though disdaining to fix their affections firmly on any object less remote than Africa. All the arguments used by the adversaries of the slave-trade were drawn from its abuses, and the true remedy was not to abolish but to regulate the trade. During the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries it was styled "a commerce for the redemption of African captives," and if the old name, descriptive as it is of the true character of the trade, were revived, many of the prejudices against the business would be removed.

It was the alliance of a skeptical philosophy with a purblind religious zeal, which generated the opinion of Europe in regard to the African slave-trade. Confining their attention to the abuses of the system, the opponents of the trade failed to raise their eyes toward any large views of the subject. If we look at Africa in the light of universal history, we see her for more than five thousand years a mere waif on the waters of the world, fulfilling no part in its destinies, and

aiding in no manner the progress of general civilization. Sunk in the depravities of fetichism, and reeking with the blood of human sacrifices, she seemed a satire on man, fit only to provoke the sneer of devils at the wisdom and justice and benevolence of the Creator. But America was discovered, and the European found the African a useful auxiliary in subduing the new continent to the uses and purposes of civilization. The white man took the negro from his native wastes, and teaching him the arts of life, bestowed on him the ineffable blessings of a true religion. Then only do the wisdom and excellence of the Divine economy in the creation of the black race begin to appear with their full lustre. Africa is permitted to lie idle until America is discovered, in order that she may conduce to the formation of a new society in the New World. A strong, haughty race, bred to liberty in their northern island home, is sent forth with the mission to place America under the rule of free laws: but whence are these men, imbued with love of liberty and equality, to desire the counterpoise which shall prevent their liberty from degenerating into license, and their equality into anarchy or despotism? How are they, when transplanted from the rugged climate where freedom thrives, to retain their precious birthright in the soft tropical air which woos to luxury and repose? Is it not for this that the African was reserved, and is it not thus that one race secures for itself liberty with order, while it bestows on the other comfort and Christianity?

But man, ever the dupe of his own vain desires, always oscillating between the extremes of opinion, and never fixed in the possession of truth, was not content with the place assigned the African in the plan of creation and of Providence. The preachers of the new gospel of equality and fraternity were not satisfied with descanting on the horrors of the middle passage, or of weeping over the miseries of men redeemed from the captivity of savage masters. If the slave-trade be criminal, slavery, which is the cause of it, should be extirpated. Therefore the trial is made on St. Domingo, and the slave, suddenly loosed from the restraints the law had put around him, goes forth to murder and destroy. Then they determine on another experiment, more cautiously conducted and more narrowly watched. Slavery is abolished in Jamaica, and forthwith the island goes to waste. The time seems to be approaching when man, guided by a less vain philosophy, will seek truth in some other direction than Haytian massacres or Jamaican impoverishment.

If the views above expressed, of the uses of the African in the economy of nature and Providence, be correct, slavery is

not abnormal to American society. It must be the rule, not the exception. But to keep it so requires effort and labor. The enemies of the only original form of American civilization are many and powerful. They are resolute in their determination not merely to limit but to extirpate slavery. The man who leads the free labor myriads of the United States, he whose firm will and far-reaching mind do not quail either at the doctrines or the acts to which his political philosophy logically conducts him, has already declared that he hopes to see the time when the foot of not a slave shall press the continent. Yet the sluggards of slavery say "a little more rest, a little more folding of the arms to slumber." Strafford sleeps, though the axe of the headsman is whetted for his execution.

The contest between free and slave labor in the United States not only touches the interest and destiny of those immediately engaged in the struggle, but it affects the fate of the whole continent. The question involved is, whether the civilization of the western world shall be European or American? If free labor prevails in its effort to banish slave labor from the continent, the history of American society becomes a faint reflex of European systems and prejudices, without contributing any new ideas, any new sentiments, or any new institutions, to the mental and moral wealth of the world. The necessary consequence of the triumph of free labor will be the destruction, by a slow and cruel process, of the colored race which now inhabits the central and southern portions of the continent. The labor of the inferior races cannot compete with that of the white race unless you give it a white master to direct its energies; and without such protection as slavery affords, the colored races must inevitably succumb in the struggle with white labor. Hence a Nicaraguan cannot be an indifferent spectator of the contest between the two forms of labor in the United States; and deeper yet must be his interest in the matter if, born and educated in a slave State of the Union, he revolves in his mind the results which will ensue to the home of his childhood and the firesides of the friends of youth in case victory smiles upon the soldiers of free labor. Do not, therefore, men of the South, deem it the voice of a stranger, or of one without a stake in your country's welfare, which urges you to strike a blow in defence of your honor, no less than of your hearths and your families, ere the blast of the enemy's bugle calls upon you to surrender your arms to an overwhelming force.

The tongue of truth and friendship is not that of undue praise or fawning flattery, and the soft songs of the suitor too

often woo to danger and destruction. Therefore, be not displeased, sons of the South—for it is to you I now speak—if the criticism on your acts and policy appear harsh or severe. But examine your conduct, and that of your public servants, for the last three years, and see whither it has led you. It is now but little more than three years since you elected the President of your choice; and in your simplicity you thought this success a great victory. What fruits have you reaped from it? Where are the rewards of your campaign? In what triumphs of policy have all your toils and all your efforts ended?

Your President—for he is the work of your hand—went into office pledged to your policy in Kansas and in Central America. He attempted to deceive you in Kansas; and your leaders drove him to the course he was forced to pursue. Like sheep to the slaughter he and his Northern friends were led to the support of Southern policy in Kansas; but what has resulted from their sacrifice, or from all the efforts the Southern leaders made to drag them to the altar? Was Kansas admitted into the Union? Did you have even the empty pleasure of boasting over a barren victory? The Kansas contest was made, as all admitted, for an abstract right. Your leaders were true to you, because you were true to yourselves, contending for an "abstract right;" let us see whether you and they were equally faithful to your honor and your interests when contending for a right not abstract.

The President was pledged to your policy in Central America, even more explicitly than to your Kansas measures. The resolutions of the Cincinnati Convention on the Central American policy were drawn by no trembling or unsteady hand. They were not couched in the Delphic sentences behind which timid politicians shrink when they seek the support of their constituents. Clear, distinct, and unmistakable, they could not be read in a dozen senses by the jugglers who fancy all political wisdom consists in deceiving the people with words which seem other than they are. Have the pledges given at Cincinnati been redeemed? Have those words, so full of meaning and of resolution, taken shape in acts, or have they died into the sobs and sighs and moans of a party which aspired to greatness, yet dared not its accomplishment?

It needs no new word to tell you how basely the pledges made at Cincinnati have been violated. It was not enough to trample under foot the promises made in the name of a party to the country; it was necessary also to disregard all the principles of public law, and to proclaim before the world that the

and justified the means. Violated faith excused violated law; and when the message of the President, excusing the acts of Commodore Paulding at Punta Arenas, in December, 1857, was sent to the Senate, Mr. Seward might well say, in a double sense, that his excellency had become a convert to the "higher law" doctrine.

And how did the leaders of the South act in the emergency? It was just at the time the news of the Paulding act at Punta Arenas reached Washington that the adoption of the Lecompton constitution was ascertained. Then the President besought the men who were driving him on the Kansas question not to press him on the Central American policy; and the Southern leaders, giving up the substance, fled in pursuit of the shadow. The Lecompton constitution would not give another foot of soil to slavery, and the movement in Nicaragua might give it an empire. Yet the latter was sacrificed to the former, and the insults of Paulding and the President have gone unrebuked by the South up to the present time.

Is it not time for the South to cease the contest for abstractions, and to fight for realities? Of what avail is it to discuss the right to carry slavery into the territories of the Union if there are none to go thither? These are questions for schoolmen—fit to sharpen the logical faculty and to make the mind quick and keen in the perception of analogies and distinctions; but surely they are not such questions as touch practical life, and come home to men's interests and actions. The feelings and conscience of the people are not to be called forth by the subtleties of lawyers, or the differences of metaphysicians; nor can their energies be roused into action for the defence of rights none of them care to exercise. The minds of full-grown men cannot be fed on mere discussions of territorial rights; they require some substantial policy which all can understand and appreciate.

Nor is it wise for the weaker party to waste its strength in fighting for shadows. It is only the stronger party which can afford to throw away its force on indecisive skirmishes. At present the South must husband her political power, else she will soon lose all she possesses. The same influence she brought to bear in favor of the position she took in Kansas would have secured the establishment of the Americans in Nicaragua. And unless she assumes now an entirely defensive attitude, what else is left for the South except to carry out the policy proposed to her three years ago in Central America? How else can she strengthen slavery than by seeking its extension beyond the limits of the Union? The Repub-

lican party aims at destroying slavery by sap, and not by assault. It declares now that the task of confining slavery is complete, and the work of the miner has already commenced. Whither can the slave-holder fly when the enemy has completed his chambers, and filled in the powder, and prepared the train, and stands with lighted match ready to apply the fire?

Time presses. If the South wishes to get her institutions into tropical America she must do so before treaties are made to embarrass her action and hamper her energies. Already there is a treaty between Mexico and Great Britain by which the former agrees to do all in her power for the suppression of the slave-trade; and, in 1856, a clause was inserted into the Dallas-Clarendon Convention stipulating for the perpetual exclusion of slavery from the Bay Islands of Honduras. This clause was suggested (as the writer was informed by the person himself who proposed it) by an American, for the purpose of securing the support of England to a projected railway across Honduras; and thus the rights of American civilization were to be bartered away for the paltry profits of a railway company. And while Nicaragua was to be hemmed in by an anti-slavery treaty between England and Honduras on the north, Costa Rica made an agreement with New-Granada that slavery should never be introduced within her limits. The enemies of American civilization—for such are the enemies of slavery—seem to be more on the alert than its friends.

The faith Walker had in the intelligence of the Southern States to perceive their true policy and in their resolution to carry it out, was one of the causes which led to the publication of the decree of the 22d of September, at the time it was given forth. Nor is his faith in the South shaken; though who can fail to be amazed at the facility with which the South is carried off after chimeras? Sooner or later, however, the slave-holding States are bound to come as one man to the support of the Nicaraguan policy. The decree of the 22d September, not the result of hasty passion or immature thought, fixed the fate of Nicaragua, and bound the republic to the car of American civilization.

For more than two years the enemies of slavery have been contriving and plotting to exclude the naturalized Nicaraguans from their adopted country. But as yet not a single additional barrier has been interposed; and the South has but to resolve upon the task of carrying slavery into Nicaragua in order that the work may be accomplished.

If other appeals than those of interest are required for stimulating the Southern States in the effort to re-establish

slavery in Central America, they are not lacking. The hearts of Southern youth answer to the call of honor, and strong arms and steady eyes are waiting to carry forward the policy which is now the dictate of duty as well as of interest. The issue between slavery and anti-slavery has been made in Nicaragua: and it is impossible for slavery to retire from the contest without losing some of its courage and its character. Nor is the issue one of mere words. It is not a tilt of sport, a joust of reeds, but the knights have touched the shields of their adversaries with the points of their lances, and the tourney is one of mortal strife, and may Fortune most favor them who best do their duty in the fray.

Something is due from the South to the memory of the brave dead who repose in the soil of Nicaragua. In defence of slavery these men left their homes, met with calmness and constancy the perils of a tropical climate, and finally yielded up their lives for the interests of the South. I have seen these men die in many ways. I have seen them gasping life away under the effects of typhus; I have seen them convulsed in the death agony from the fearful blows of cholera; I have seen them sink to glorious rest from mortal wounds received on honorable fields; but I never saw the first man who repented engaging in the cause for which he yielded his life. These martyrs and confessors in the cause of Southern civilization surely deserve recognition at its hands. And what can be done for their memories while the cause for which they suffered and died remains in peril and jeopardy!

If there, then, be yet vigor in the South (and who can doubt that there is?) for further contest with the soldiers of anti-slavery, let her cast off the lethargy which inthralls her, and prepare anew for the conflict. But at the same time she throws aside her languor and indifference, let her, taught by the past, discard the delusions and abstractions with which politicians have agitated her passions without advancing her interests. It is time for slavery to spend its efforts on realities, and not beat the air with wanton and ill-advised blows. The true field for the exertions of slavery is in tropical America; there it finds the natural seat of its empire, and thither it can spread, if it will make the effort, regardless of conflict with adverse interests. The way is open, and it only requires courage and will to enter the path and reach the goal. Will the South be true to herself in this emergency?

ART. V.—SOUTHERN RIGHTS ASSOCIATION OF VIRGINIA.

MEMORIAL OF THE CENTRAL SOUTHERN RIGHTS ASSOCIATION OF VIRGINIA: BEING A STATEMENT OF GRIEVANCES AND SUGGESTION OF REMEDIES THEREFOR.

YOUR memorialists, the Central Southern Rights Association of Virginia, respectfully represent, that the hostile relations for many years and at the present time existing on the part of certain non-slaveholding States of the North toward Virginia and her sister Southern States, require the earnest and solemn consideration of your honorable body, and the adoption by the South of a well-concerted system of prompt and effectual measures of self-defence.

Bound together as are the United States by a common bond of federal and fraternal union—a confederation and fraternity of co-equal sovereignties, with equal rights and equal guarantees for their protection—the non-slaveholding States, while exercising those rights and guarantees for themselves even beyond the just limits and true intent of the compact, have practically denied them to the Southern States; and, while enjoying to the full all the advantages of the Union, and grown great and rich through our resources, they have used that Union as a bulwark from behind which to plot schemes and perpetrate outrages against our peace, our property, and our lives.

At the time of the adoption of the Federal Constitution, African slavery existed in and was protected by the laws of every State in the Union except Massachusetts, and in Massachusetts it had been only recently abolished.

The Constitution was ordained, not to create or destroy, but to preserve and perpetuate the sovereign powers of the several States in respect to their own institutions and governments, and to spread the shield of a common nationality over the rights of each and all. The controlling cause of its origin and adoption, was the felt necessity of so regulating intercourse with each other, and with foreign nations, that the sovereignty of each might be preserved, in harmony with the supremacy and protection of the whole. In respect to the great subject of slavery and all its political relations, it is well known that the Constitution was a compromise, based upon mutual concessions—not, indeed, in regard to the existence of the institution in the several States—for of that each State was left free to act for itself—but in regard to the power it was to wield, and the burdens it was to bear under the federal government, and the protection that government was to insure to its rights and preservation in the Union. Chief among the rights reserved to the several States, was the right of governing itself in respect to that institution, as of all other domestic concerns, and chief among the express guarantees of the Constitution was the clause providing for the rendition of fugitive slaves by the several States. And in accordance with these truths, the Northern States, one by one, as the exigencies of their condition and the natural influ-

ences of climate and soil seemed to dictate, have gotten rid of their slaves by sale or emancipation (certainly as soon as they ceased to be profitable), while the Southern States, in obedience to the same natural laws, the necessities of their social and political position, and the great wants of the world—including the Northern States—have preserved the institution as it stood in the times of their forefathers, and must stand so long as the industrial interests of mankind and the advancement of civilization depend upon the products of compulsory African labor in the fertile fields of the South. But, notwithstanding the most solemn and sacred obligations, several, if not all of the five Northwestern States, sprung from that rich empire, the munificent dowry of Virginia to the Union, have passed laws in plain contravention of her constitutional rights, while all of the Northern States proper, in open violation of clear compact and plighted faith, almost in solid phalanx, have either expressly nullified the laws of Congress, enacted under the Constitution for the rendition of fugitive slaves, or have envired its execution with penalties, annoyances, and difficulties, which practically deprive it of force.

Under this system of unfriendly and fraudulent legislation the Northern people have pillaged our property and clothed the crime with the sanctity of the law. Adding insult to theft and confiscation, they have slandered the owners of the property they have stolen or destroyed, and by epithet and invective, by ridicule and vituperation, by caricature and falsehood, and all the artillery of calumny and abuse, they have sought to traduce and degrade us in the eyes of the world. Perverting the pure spirit of Christianity from its benign mission of Peace on earth and good will among men, they have sown discord and strife throughout the land—they have severed the bonds of Religion that bound us together—they have preached against us hatred and malice, and all uncharitableness, even sedition and slaughter, rapine and anarchy, and have desecrated the altars of God with profane prayers for curses upon our heads. Proceeding now to extremes of rage and desperation, they have formed combinations to invade our soil, and incite internecine and servile war, and midnight treason, murder, and robbery, have marked their footsteps in crime. And while, until a late hour, the conservative few have kept doubtful silence instead of giving honest outburst to fearless indignation—by public and by private demonstrations, large masses of the Northern people have promptly sympathized with and sanctioned, have applauded and commemorated, those fiendish acts as patriotic and heroic achievements.

Vain, indeed, is it to say that the more intelligent and respectable citizens of the North disapprove and deplore this state of things. We do honor to the earnest statesmen who have denounced, with manly eloquence, the actors in the bloody drama of Harper's Ferry, their aiders and abettors; and commendation is due to all who echoed that denunciation and the noble sentiments proclaimed of fealty to the Constitution and Union as framed by our fathers. But either such men as these are in hopeless minority, or in the exercise of criminal neglect of the elective franchise, by giving countenance and control to

wicked fanaticism, *they have become responsible for its excesses.* And while politicians are put in power who shamelessly advocate, in open day, the lawless and bloody doctrines which their minions, in midnight darkness, have but too faithfully exemplified by treason and murder, robbery and attempted insurrection, it is impossible to satisfy an injured people by mere assurances, in public assembly, of condemnation of the acts to which their authors have been thus instigated, and for which they have been canonized in public regard. Until the great popular masses of the North, united, shall rise in righteous wrath and hurl from their high places the panders to public demoralization and crime; until their State legislatures shall rescind all enactments in contravention of the Constitution and laws of Congress providing for the rendition of fugitive slaves; until, further, they shall, by stringent and effective statutes, punish all machinations and combinations to invade our soil, or molest our peace, or disturb in any manner our domestic institutions—a consummation of which present prognostics furnish few cheering auspices—we can have no hope of quiet and safety, and it is the part alike of wisdom and self-respect to disregard the soft words by which we are sought to be soothed into inaction and repose.

This condition of things cannot longer exist. When the Constitution of the United States is thus broken down and trodden under foot; when all the ties of social union and Christian brotherhood are thus torn asunder; when we are put in daily peril of our lives and in constant jeopardy of our property, and the pike of the assassin and the torch of the incendiary beset us in our fields and at our firesides, it behooves us, the people of Virginia, and the people of all the Southern States, to take prompt and thorough measures for remedy and redress—under the Constitution, if we can—beyond it, if we must.

The dignity and honor of an ancient and loyal-hearted Commonwealth—with too much at stake in the past to trifle with the future—proud alike of the glories of an ancestral renown and the purity of an unsullied name—will prompt her to fulfil with entire fidelity all the obligations imposed upon her by the Constitution of the Union, so long as it continues to be the common compact and fundamental law of the land. The forfeiture of plighted faith by the Northern States, cannot release Virginia from respect for her own. But within the bounds of the mutual bond, she must and will protect and defend herself. Standing upon her reserved rights, and looking to the loyalty of her sons with the confidence of a mother in the hour of peril, she will exercise those rights to the utmost, and invoke that loyalty in the prompt and complete execution of her policy and measures of protection and defence. Bound by God and Nature to strong and dear allies—through whose noble veins every pulsation of her heart throbs and throws a kindred blood—she will summon to her side and gather around her all of her sister Southern States, and, by the ties of a common honor, of common interests and institutions, of common rights and common wrongs, and the certainty of a common destiny, she will invoke the united and determined co-operation of them all.

Nor will that invocation prove in vain. Placed by geographical position in the front rank of danger, she has but to set the bold and bright example, and they will follow her ancient and trusted lead. In every safe and energetic measure of remedy and redress, the Old Dominion might count upon the aid and action of them all. Encouraged by this proud assurance let her look well to the measures she may adopt, and cherish the interests and honor of allies as identified with her own. With oneness of purpose and concert of action, Virginia and the South are invincible, in the Union, or out of it.

In looking about for the means of remedy and redress, commercial independence of the North is the first great object that strikes the eye and challenges achievement. Whether we are to remain in the Union, or are to go out of it, that object should be the aim and aspiration of every son and every State of the South. If we are to remain in the Union commercial independence would insure the development of our agricultural, manufacturing, mining and commercial resources, the accumulation and diffusion of wealth, the defence and preservation of our social and domestic institutions, the establishment of our own schools and colleges, the cultivation of our own literature, and the advancement and elevation of our high form of civilization in all its peculiar and noble characteristics; while, by the loss of our trade and the consequent crumbling of her great manufacturing and industrial interests, it would teach the North "A lesson of the hour," of which she might repent in bankruptcy and ruin, general desolation and dismay, until returning reason, restoring a just sense of constitutional obligation and honor, should constrain her to respect the rights of those who thus had the courage to respect and protect themselves. If we are to go out of the Union, then, by the establishment of Southern commercial independence, we should not only effect such results as have been named, but would thereby have placed ourselves in better condition to stand the shock of the dissolution, and to take our place among the sovereign nations of the world, full-armed with all the elements of national strength and power, to punish insult or aggression, enforce security for our persons and property, and sacred observance of our laws. So that, whatever may be the influence of the tumultuary emotions which now pervade the bosoms of our people, in urging this subject, at this time, upon their law-makers, the attainment of so great an object should become a vital and ever-active part of the public policy of the State and of the South, and should be pursued with earnest, enlightened, and systematic assiduity.

It is not to be denied or concealed that the most prudent manner of accomplishing the end in view, is a matter of difficulty and doubt, and demands careful and deliberate consideration. Established channels of commerce cannot suddenly be changed without large and varied detriment to the community; for the laws of trade are but secondary laws of nature, being the reciprocal forces of demand and supply. And, what with the distribution of rich agricultural resources and slave labor on the one hand, and manufacturing facilities and white labor on the other, and the unequal action of partial legis-

lation by the federal government, building up one section of the country at the expense of the other, the course of trade among the Northern and Southern States has been so long and has become so firmly established that great interest and ramified business and social relations have grown up in and between the two sections, so that a sudden and violent disruption of the existing system would entail manifold evils on all parties concerned.

But no great object can be accomplished in the life, either of individuals or of States, without wise effort and some sacrifice, and in proportion to the magnitude of the object and the delicacy and difficulty of its achievement, should be circumspection and far-reaching sagacity on the one hand, and concentrated energy and dauntless devotion on the other. Sacrifices, certainly, we shall have to make at first, and it may be for a long time; but sacrifices must and will be made, and craven and accursed be he who shrinks from the obligations of duty and honor! Meanwhile the gradual results of success will prove alike gratifying and profitable, and the final consummation will be full of consolation and triumph, of independence and power.

A well-ordered system of legislation, with hearty co-operation on the part of the people, it is confidently believed, will safely and ultimately achieve the end.

Your memorialists would begin with relieving our foreign commerce, as far as possible, from the burdens and restrictions by which it is encumbered. By the acts of Congress import duties are imposed on nearly all goods imported into this country, and by the statutes of Virginia every vessel bringing a cargo from abroad is compelled to pay a tax for pilotage, which amounts, on a voyage to and from Richmond, to about one hundred and fifty dollars. The duties on imports the legislature of Virginia cannot alter or affect, but the tax for pilotage it can and ought to diminish and revise. It is well known that in many cases the pilots are unneeded, and often never come on board the vessel except to receive their fees or a commutation thereof in consideration of dispensing with their services. The present useless and pernicious restrictions, in this respect, on our foreign trade, should be modified or removed, and while all lawful incumbrances should be continued and increased on Northern vessels trading coastwise, judicious discriminations might be made in favor of Virginia and Southern bottoms trading to or from any part of the world. Such a measure would gladden the hearts of our importing merchants, and greatly stimulate and foster the incipient enterprise and activity of our shipping interests and foreign marine.

Auxiliary to this, judicious bounties prudently discriminating in favor of such articles as we most need and can most easily get from abroad, should be given to goods of direct foreign importation. At the period of the Revolution, the foreign trade of Virginia was greater than that of New-York. Since that time, until within the last few years, it has suffered not only an immense relative but even a positive decline. Various causes have combined to produce this result; but the singular circumstance deserves special notice, that from the

times of the non-intercourse and embargo laws until the year 1856, Virginia has actually discriminated *against* her foreign commerce by *unconstitutional legislation*. By act of 23d January, 1799 (Ed. laws, 1803, p. 386), all persons "selling merchandise of foreign growth or manufacture, by wholesale and retail," were compelled to pay a heavy license tax, under severe penalties, while no license was necessary to sell other goods. This law was substantially re-enacted year after year, not only throughout the war of 1812, but down to 1823, when licenses were for the first time required to sell all kinds of merchandise, whether of foreign or domestic growth or manufacture. (See Ed. L. 1803, p. 414. Ed. L. 1808, pp. 88, 144. Ed. L. 1812, pp. 24, 25, 37, 62, 103. Acts of 1813, 1814, 1815, '16, '17, '18, p. 4. 2 Rev. C. p. 41, Sup. R. C. 326, '7.) The act of 1823 was yearly re-enacted until 1839, when what was called the scale tax on license was introduced, which was a tax on the amount of sales. In 1849, the present system of taxation was adopted, being a tax on license *and* a tax on the amount of sales. It is a curious fact that in the existing tax-law, passed in 1856, a provision was for the first time inserted exempting foreign importations from taxation on sales by the importer. (See Sess. Acts 1839-'40, p. 4; 1849, p. 4; 1856, pp. 12, 13.)

In respect to goods of direct importation sold in bulk or packages, by the importer, the Supreme Court of the United States decided in the case of *Brown vs. the State of Maryland* (12 Wheat. 436), that any State tax is unconstitutional. It thus appears, that the State of Virginia, from 1799 to 1856—more than half a century—kept upon her statute-book an unconstitutional law, discriminating against her foreign trade by imposing upon it unjust and illegal burdens. By the act of 1856, the importing merchant is entitled to a deduction from the amount of sales on which he pays license tax, equal to the amount of import duties paid by him and the value of goods on which such duties are paid—such value to be fixed by the appraisement at the custom-house. This provision is not, as it may at first seem, a release of taxation on imported goods, and a reimbursement to the importer of the amount of duties paid thereon. But it is, in effect, a release by the State of the subjects of taxation under the license law, to an extent equivalent to the tax on the value of the goods imported and the duties paid on the same. This, indeed, was a move in the right direction, and the gratifying results already realized justify a liberal extension of the new and nobler policy thus inaugurated. How far, and on what articles, the import duties paid to the federal government by the direct importer should be reimbursed by the State, and how far, and on what articles, State taxation should be relinquished on goods of direct foreign importation in the hands of retail dealers—purchasers from the direct importers—are matters of detail which need not be entered into in this memorial, but which an appropriate committee—that, perhaps, of finances—upon full inquiry and investigation, might well ascertain and judiciously present for the consideration of the legislature. Certain it is, that in this manner most efficient encouragement could be constitutionally and wisely given to direct trade with foreign countries.

Your memorialists cannot omit here to state, with proud satisfaction, that, especially in one department, our direct foreign trade, within the last few years, has been greatly vivified and enlarged. The exportation of flour to South America, and the importations in return of coffee and other tropical products, have liberally rewarded mercantile enterprise and forecast, and have greatly stimulated enlightened zeal and adventure in other departments of foreign commerce with other parts of the world, auspicious of solid and gratifying results.

Securing, by the means above indicated, the largest practicable positive encouragement to direct importations, your memorialists would suggest the incidental and powerful stimulus to our foreign trade which must come from the imposition of excise taxes by the State upon all goods and merchandise, the products or manufacture of the inimical non-slaveholding States. Should such an excise law be passed, it is easy to see that the fabrics from those States would be placed under most discouraging burdens. We might tax them by degrees, heavily and more heavily as occasion required or justified, until, if deemed necessary or proper, excises amounting to prohibition might be imposed.

Should this measure be regarded unwise or impracticable, your memorialists would pray that some other means may be adopted, if possible, to accomplish the same end. If the existing system of taxation be considered right and proper, taxes might be laid on the sales of Northern goods amounting eventually to prohibition. A third scheme has been suggested which may deserve consideration. It is the plan of heavy license taxes on our merchants, with the tender of a bond in the nature of a defeasance, conditioned, with approved security, that the merchants shall not buy or sell goods of Northern manufacture, under penalties imposed.

Your memorialists would not assume the province of deciding which of these measures would be most in accordance with the fundamental law of the land, or the spirit and character of our institutions and people, or which would best accomplish the object in view. But your memorialists would most earnestly urge the adoption of *some* stringent and effective measure to discourage the sale and consumption of goods of Northern manufacture in our midst, and doubt not that the wisdom of the legislature will best determine the means to effect the end.

This much would they venture to suggest in respect to the present system of taxation upon merchants. It was introduced to meet the wants of a temporary emergency, and was never intended to become, as it seems to be, a part of the fixed policy of the State. The merchant is taxed upon his license, and afterward upon his sales. These taxes he bears in addition to the poll tax and property tax, which, in common with other citizens, he pays into the treasury of this commonwealth. The direct tendency of this state of things is to operate most injuriously upon the commercial interests of the community, by driving capital out of commerce into safer and less burdened pursuits,

or forcing its employment elsewhere. It discourages capital from going into commerce, especially in our cities where like corporation taxes are onerous and severe; it sends Virginia country merchants and the merchants from the adjacent States to Northern cities, particularly to New-York, where no such tax is imposed by city or State, and where, of course, goods can be bought on more favorable terms; and it necessitates mercantile houses in our cities establishing branch houses in Northern cities, in order to compete with rivals who have no such enormous taxes to pay. And since the taxes paid on sales by the merchant fall at last, in chief part, upon the consumers, in the necessarily increased price of the goods sold, the substantial effect of the law is only to burden capital in the hands first of the wholesale dealer or jobber, and then of the successive retail merchants, and thus to clog and cripple commerce in all its stages. In respect at least to all goods of domestic manufacture, and certain articles of direct foreign importation, in the hands of the retail merchant as well as of the wholesale importer, it is submitted that these taxes might be released with great wisdom and propriety.

And, in this connection, your memorialists would respectfully pray that such measures may be adopted as your honorable body may deem most judicious, to increase and protect the commercial capital of the commonwealth, and, by proper changes, additions, and improvements, in the character, number and organization of the banking institutions of the State, to augment and diffuse facilities for mercantile and general business accommodation.

Affiliated with the interests of direct trade with foreign countries, restrictions on commerce with the Northern States and the augmentation and fostering of the commercial capital and mercantile facilities of the State, is the great and important duty of encouraging domestic manufactures. These should be favored in every possible manner, by exemptions and by bounties, as the safe and certain reliance of State independence, in any contingency, whether of union or disunion.

Intimately and inseparately connected with direct trade and home manufactures, mercantile capital and facilities, and all the vast and varied interests and relations of an independent commerce, rise to view the great leading lines of internal improvement, designed to connect Eastern with Western Virginia, and the whole of Virginia with North Carolina and Tennessee and other adjoining States, and through them with the trade and travel of all the South and West, and the magnificent markets ready to be opened for our products and commerce. Complete, and, if necessary, multiply those great linesw ith tributary channels, as circumstances permit, and bring the Atlantic on the East, with the multitude of ships that must greet its shore, into communication and communion with the rich valleys and blooming savannahs of the vast West and South, and ultimately as destiny points, with the regions along and beyond the Rocky Mountains, with California and the coasts of the Pacific and the nations that throng the boundaries of its farther and far-distant shores.

By this system of measures, and the earnest co-operation of individual citizens, and like action on the part of the other Southern States, commercial independence of the North may be safely and successfully established. No limits can be set to the achievements of a great and united people, determined to assert and vindicate their rights; and the noble elements of Southern society will be concentrated in manly action to accomplish the important and patriotic ends in view.

Meanwhile it behooves us to cast a watchful eye upon the internal police and means of defence of the State; and your memorialists would urgently ask that more stringent and summary laws be enacted for the punishment of offences against slave property, against the right to hold the same, and against the owners thereof; that efficient regulations be adopted, or organizations legalized, to secure the arrest, expulsion, or other punishment, of all itinerant venders of merchandise, without license, and all strolling persons, or travelling agents of suspicious character; and that provision be made for refitting the armory of the State, for renewing the manufacture of arms and the munitions of war, and for thoroughly equipping and organizing the militia.

And, in conclusion, to the end that we may insure unanimity of purpose and concert of action on the part of our natural allies and friends, your memorialists for the present pray your honorable body in some proper manner to cause communication to be made to the legally constituted authorities of the several Southern States, inviting concurrence and co-operation in the general policy and system of measures hereinbefore indicated, so far as the same may be applicable to the said several States, and may contribute, by their adoption, to the ultimate and permanent independence and protection of the South.

Respectfully submitted by

JOHN HOWARD,	} Committee.
LEWIS E. HARVIE,	
WM. GREEN,	
E. FONTAINE,	

By resolution of the Central Southern Rights Association of Virginia, the above memorial was ordered to be presented to the legislature of the State.

D. H. LONDON, *President.*

T. B. BIGGER, *Secretary.*

RICHMOND, December, 19, 1859.

THE CONSTITUTION

OF THE CENTRAL SOUTHERN RIGHTS ASSOCIATION OF VIRGINIA.

1st. The objects of this Association are the promotion of the foreign commerce of Virginia and the Southern States generally; the encouragement of Southern manufactures, and the protection of the institution of slavery. Its style shall be the Central Southern Rights Association of Virginia; and its members pledge themselves, as far as practicable, in their various vocations to give a decided preference in purchasing, selling, using and consuming productions directly imported into our own waters or produced in our own or one of the sister Southern States.

2d. Every man of good character, who concurs in the objects of the Association, and will co-operate faithfully in promoting them, may become a member of

the Association by signing his name to the Constitution, or authorizing the Secretary to record his name as a member and paying him the sum of one dollar for the use of the Society.

3d. The officers of the Society shall be a President, twenty Vice-Presidents, a Secretary, a Treasurer, and an Executive Committee of thirteen, who shall be appointed annually, and hold their office until their successors shall be appointed. If any vacancy occur, they shall be filled by an appointment for the unexpired term.

4th. The President shall be the Corresponding organ of the Society. He shall, if present, preside at all its meetings. He shall be ex-officio Chairman of the Executive Committee and entitled to vote. If the President be absent, a Vice-President shall preside. If the President and Vice-Presidents be absent, the Association may appoint a temporary Chairman.

5th. The duty of the Executive Committee shall be to collect information for the Association and report the same to it, with such suggestions and recommendations as it shall deem proper for adoption by the Association.

6th. The duty of the Secretary shall be to attend all meetings of the Association and the Executive Committee, and record their proceedings in separate books. He shall also record the Constitution in a separate book, and shall record after it the name of every member and the date of his membership.

7th. The duty of the Treasurer shall be to receive all the money of the Association, and deposit the same in one of the banks of the city, to the credit of the Association, from which it shall be drawn upon the check of the President, countersigned by the Treasurer. He shall report the state of the finances of the Association at every stated meeting.

8th. There shall be four stated meetings of the Association—on the first Monday in January, April, July, and October—at such time and place, in the city of Richmond, as the President may indicate; the other meetings may be held whenever the Association, the President, or Executive Committee, may deem proper. Public notice shall be given of every meeting by the President, by publication in some newspaper published in Richmond. At the meeting the parliamentary law, as expounded in Jefferson's Manual, shall prevail, with such modifications of it as the Association may adopt; but the first business in order shall be the report of the Executive Committee, and no business shall be transacted until it is disposed of.

9th. The Executive Committee shall prepare and report to the Association, for its approval or rejection, such rules and by-laws for the government of the Association and its officers, and the conduct of its business, as it shall deem proper.

10th. This Constitution may be amended or abolished by a majority of the members present, provided that the amendment or motion to abolish shall not be considered and decided upon until the meeting succeeding that at which it was proposed.

11th. The Society may expel any member for misbehavior in its presence, for dishonorable conduct, or for want of fidelity to the principles of the Society, provided that the member whom it may be proposed to expel shall have notice of the motion, and be heard in his defence if he desires.

12th. Twenty-five members shall constitute a quorum.

13th. Any member may withdraw from the Association whenever he may think fit, by notifying the President of his intention to do so.

ART. VI.—IMPROVEMENT OF SOUTHERN RIVERS.

LETTER FROM ALBERT STEIN OF MOBILE, ON THE IMPROVEMENT OF
THE LOWER APPOMATTOX, VIRGINIA.

THE power that impels water to flow—or in other words, the actual power of gravitation upon running water, in any case—depends upon the slope or inclination of the surface.

The retarding forces are the friction of the water upon the perimeter, or bottom and sides of the bed in contact with the stream, the adhesion of the molecules of the fluid among themselves, and the resistance of the air.

When water flows uniformly through any channel, the sum of all the resistances that it encounters is equal to the accelerating force.

The momentum is the product of the quantity of water multiplied by the velocity.

In tidal rivers, the momentum of the column of water flowing inland along a gradually contracting and ascending channel, causes the level of the tidal wave to be higher at the upper end of the tidal wave, than at the mouth of a river; and in such a gradually contracting or funnel-shaped channel, the flood-wave attains its greatest height. The height to which the tidal wave is thus elevated, depends upon the quantity of water admitted into the river during a given time.

In large rivers, where the bed is broad and deep, and the fall but slight, the elevation of the flood-wave deviates but little from a horizontal level.

The navigable depth will depend upon the quantity of water passing and repassing through a well-defined channel. The tidal flow is, therefore, in such cases, the chief agent that keeps open and deepens the navigation.

The progress of all detritus is in a seaward direction, because the line of least resistance is seaward, and the power of the ebbing must necessarily be greater than that of the flowing waters, by reason of the declination of the surface. The ebb is also obviously stronger than the flood, from not only returning the quantity of water forced in by the tide, but carrying with it, in addition, the upland water accumulated in the meantime.

By increasing the quantity of water driven up the channel of the river at flood-tide, the velocity of the ebbing waters will be greatly increased, and with it their power to bear along seaward the detritus or movable materials at the bottom. The power of the water to remove such materials is also increased by an increase of its depth.

The obstructions which check the propagation of the tidal wave, are the diffusion of the water over large surfaces, islands, sinuosities in the line of current, inequalities in the channel, and the slope of the low-water line.

In every case where the stream is made to deviate from a straight line, there must necessarily be a loss of momentum, or scouring

power. The course of the river having been made as direct as possible, and the power of the stream concentrated between permanent banks, the current, with accelerated velocity, will work to obtain in depth what it loses in width.

The greatest scouring power, or momentum, is at the time when the quantity of ebbing water multiplied by the velocity is the greatest, and this is about mean ebb tide.

Before the commencement (in 1823) of the works for the improvement of the lower Appomattox river, the flow of the tide was so much obstructed by an excessive width of the bed of the river, as also by its numerous islands and sinuosities, that only vessels drawing about three feet of water could reach the wharves at Petersburg. In some places, the width of the river was inordinately great; and in others, instead of flowing in one bed, kept open by the whole available scouring power, it was divided by islands into several branches, neither of them affording good navigation, while immediately above and below each island, there was a sand bank or shallow.

Another great obstacle to the free flow of the tidal wave and to navigation was presented by the bends of the river, which also had sand-banks immediately above and below them.

As the tidal flow is the chief agent which keeps open the navigation of the lower Appomattox, scouring and maintaining the channel of the river, we laid it down as the fundamental principle of our operations for its improvement, that this same agent should be made subservient to the purpose, not only of preserving the navigable depth already existing, but also of increasing it; and that its extent, as to sectional capacity, would be in proportion to the amount of water admitted.

The first object that received attention, was to establish a well-defined navigable tract, from the Point of Rocks to Petersburg, to facilitate the passage of the tide, and to enable the river by an energetic and well-regulated current, to do its own work, and to do it in the right way and the right place.

The cross sectional area of the river at the Point of Rocks, was left unimpaired for the reception of the flood waters, and thence to the wharves at Petersburg, the breadth of the channel was regularly contracted to a funnel-shape; so that, by the admission of as large a body of tidal waters as possible, this, in conjunction with the upland waters, might effect, on the ebb, the greatest possible scour of the channel.

The James river affords a standard of rise and fall of the tide, not affected by the works above the Point of Rocks. It regulates the time of passage of the tidal waters due to the Appomattox, in, and out, through the cross-section at the Point of Rocks. The greater, therefore, the amount to be passed in the interval between high and low-water, the stronger the current; and the less the amount, the weaker the current and the less its power to scour the channel.

The quantity of tidal water propelled up the funnel-shaped channel, through the cross-section at the Point of Rocks, determines, in

conjunction with the upland waters, the sectional capacity—and a decrease of one is inevitably followed by a diminution of the other.

A depression of the low-water level insures an increase of the tidal duration, and hence, of the tidal quantity. The first is a direct and immediate improvement of the navigation: the last keeps open and improves the channel by means of a greater discharge.

In order to accomplish the end in view, after the limits of the channel from Petersburg to the Point of Rocks had been designated, it became necessary to close subsidiary channels, make new cuts for the passage of the river in a more direct and more permanent course, and to contract the stream to a proper breadth, so as to form a sectional area, which the river should be capable of keeping open, and to obtain the stipulated depth of seven feet, at mean high-water.

The plan which I adopted for contracting the power of the river and changing its direction, was to construct the works of brushwood, stakes, and gravel, which materials could be procured near the places where they were required.

Having confined the river in a single navigable channel, the low, sandy sides, being no longer subject to the inroads of the tides and current, gradually increased in elevation and produced vegetation. This process was expedited by the planting of branches of willow. This prevented any disturbance of materials of which the banks or low flats were composed.

The natural effects of shortening the course of the river are, a freer discharge of the water, and consequent depression of the low-water level, a readier propagation of the tidal wave, deepening of the channel, and a shortening of the time occupied by the ebb.

The materials of which the bed of the river is composed, being sand and fine gravel, could be removed by the natural scour, without involving any other expense than the necessary works for the guidance of the current and contraction of the river to a proper breadth.

If, however, during the progress of scouring, any hard portions of the bottom of the bed had remained and become exposed, after the finer particles had been washed away, they would, of course, have required to be removed by artificial means, so as to secure a uniform motion and depth of water.

Had the authorities of Petersburg preserved the established width and direction of the river, from the wharves at that city to the Point of Rocks, or as far as the improvement extended, no diminution of depth would have taken place in the channel, because the scouring process would have been maintained throughout the whole extent of the improvement.

If the works had been kept in proper repair, the process of scouring would probably have continued in operation for years. This process will be resumed, whenever the river obtains a well-defined and permanent bed, from Petersburg to the Point of Rocks, by virtue of the causes, the operation of which has already been explained.

In places, where the works have been destroyed from neglect, and the stream again diffused over too large a space, it is only necessary

again to reduce the bed of the river to the proper width, when its own momentum will be enabled to scour out and maintain a greater and more uniform depth, without any recourse to expensive dredging operations. The river has brought down the materials that fill its bed and diminish its depth, and it can certainly be made to transport them still farther.

Dredging may be rendered very useful in the removal of hard substances, or portions of the bed, beyond the power of the current to bear along or wash away; but when regarded as a principal agent in deepening the channel, it is an error. It attacks the effect instead of the cause. The cause, remaining unimpaired in its operation, the effect will, of course, be continually recurring.

The operators upon the river, should guide the current to deposit the alluvial matter, in such a manner as to act beneficially, and not prejudicially, to navigation. Bearing in mind the principles above laid down, they should direct their attention chiefly to the removal of obstructions to the free passage of the tide, and uniform flow of the river through a properly-regulated channel, of suitable width, and as straight as possible. The reopening of the channel through the sharp bend at Blendford, is in direct contravention of this principle.

This reopening of the channel, by dredging operations, is done at an expense at least ten times as great as the cost would have been of blasting and removing the few rocks from the cut-off. These are seven feet below mean high-water, or three feet, six inches, below low-water mark. Their removal might have been effected without any interruption to navigation, and it would have secured a deep, straight, and permanent channel. Moreover, the circuitous channel will require a continual expenditure to keep it free from obstructions, and will always offer impediments to the passage of the tidal wave and hinderances to navigation.

Without a proper regulation of the channel of the river, all attempts to deepen the navigation by means of dredging, will be found to be a pure and gratuitous waste of the resources of the corporation of Petersburg.

The works constructed by the writer of these remarks, were productive of the most beneficial results. The navigable depth was increased from three to seven feet at mean high tide, by the natural action of the river, without incurring any expense for the removal of materials by artificial means. This is an encouraging practical example to demonstrate that, by an adherence to the above principles and the application of works constructed in accordance with them, the depth of water may be increased by the action of the river itself.

In order that the lower or tidal portion of the Appomattox may be successfully improved, it is absolutely necessary that the greatest possible quantity of water should enter the river through the cross-section at the Point of Rocks, and that it should be caused to flow as fast and as directly as possible, through a regularly constructed bed of a breadth properly adapted to the volume of ebbing water. This should be the basis of the improvement.

The results of the works executed by the writer, for the purpose of obtaining the stipulated navigable depth of seven feet at mean high-water, were—

1st. The formation of a channel of the proper width and thickness.

2d. The deepening of the bed of the river.

3d. The depression of the low-water level.

4th. The increase of the duration of the tidal influence.

The benefits to navigation have been—

1st. A more direct and better defined channel.

2d. A greater depth of water.

3d. A greater duration of the time during which, in consequence of the presence of the tide, the river is navigable.

MOBILE, December 2, 1859.

ART. VII.—CITIES OF THE SOUTH—RICHMOND.

The growth of this beautiful city, and its progress in commercial and manufacturing opulence, must be a subject of just pride throughout all the Southern States, and in the event of any future trouble, we may be justified in expecting her to become one of the great, if not the greatest city of the Southern Union. Her people have spirit and enterprise, and a high degree of intelligence—and judging from their course since the recent Northern invasion, it may be taken for granted, they will be ready to lead off in every matter that concerns the honor and security of the South.

Let Richmond, therefore, enter the field in earnest. It is in her power to conduct a large importing and exporting trade. Her tributary railroads are stretching in every direction where production and wealth may be controlled. The South looks to her in the present exigency—and will not look in vain. Her example will soon be imitated.

From a little volume which has been for some time on our desk, entitled, "Richmond in By-Gone-Days, by an old Citizen," we shall proceed to make two or three interesting extracts, referring the reader at the same time, to the many valuable statistics we have on several occasions furnished in our own pages on this subject.

MANUFACTURES AND MILLS.

THE attempts to establish *manufactories* in Richmond on the joint-stock principle, have been almost invariable unsuccessful, and not in Richmond only, but throughout the South; and I might add the North also, with the exception of those establishments which are owned by a few stockholders who look to their interests.

When England and France were vying with each other which could commit the greatest outrages on our commerce, by their Orders in Council and Berlin and Milan Decrees (Napoleon dated his edicts from almost every capital he chose), and when we resorted to the terrapin policy of embargo and non-intercourse, to prepare for war by depriving ourselves of the means to conduct it, then, among other patriotic resolutions adopted at public meetings, was one that we should dress in domestic fabrics; and as homespun "was the only wear," the price of coarse mixed *Virginia cotton cloth* was a dollar or

more a yard for such as is now worth twelve or eighteen cents, and many of our citizens who could afford it, especially the politicians of the terrapin party, were thus arrayed from head to foot.

As the primitive spinning wheels and hand-looms could not supply the patriotic demand for their productions, a resort to machinery was proposed.

A large meeting was held in the capitol about the year 1809, to raise by subscription a sufficient sum (no trifling one) for the establishment of an extensive cotton and woollen factory. The patriotic fervor overflowed in frothy speeches, but when it subsided it left no residuum in cash.

Parson Blair made some fun of it in a satire commencing thus :—

"I've seen with pleasure in your patriot city,
The appointment of a most august committee,
To encourage manufactures of our own,
And bring Old England to her marrow bone,
To spoil her commerce, since she's made us wroth;
And bring her pridedown with Virginia cloth."

Fortunately for the few who were disposed to subscribe for the mules and jennies, there were not backers enough to second them, and the project failed. An individual (B. J. Harris) who had twisted tobacco successfully, was the first to engage in the twisting of cotton, but not successfully, and his mill was converted to the more congenial purpose of grinding wheat.

Some years later, joint-stock companies were formed for the manufacture of cotton, wool, iron, paper, &c., expensive buildings were erected, the works put in operation, and while everything was new, and improved machinery not introduced elsewhere, some dividends were paid—but prosperity was of short duration. The raw materials were bought with cash, or if on credit, at a high rate; the manufactured article had to be sold on credit, and generally to be shipped to the North for a market, incurring heavy charges. Dividends ceased, debts were contracted, and, to wind up the concern, the establishment was sold, at a loss to the stockholders of fifty or seventy-five per cent. It now became the property of an individual, or of a few partners. Presidents, directors, agents, &c., were dispensed with. Instead of being everybody's business, it was somebody's, and each establishment in succession passed from a corporate body to an individual one, and from decay to prosperity.

The amount of capital thus sunk by stockholders in various manufacturing establishments in almost every town in Virginia, would count up to millions, but it was fortunately distributed among many parties. Their successors are rendering benefits to the community as well as to themselves, by employing a large number of workmen, and giving occupation indirectly to the various classes of tradesmen, farmers, landlords, &c., with whom the former deal.

The iron foundries and machine shops in Richmond are numerous, and some of them on a large scale. The boilers and machinery for two of the largest ships-of-war are in course of construction at the Tredegar Works, where cannon are made in great numbers for our ships and forts.

When the raw materials for manufactures which our interior can supply, and the water-power extending some miles above the city, to convert them into useful fabrics, shall be practically developed, Richmond may become one of the largest manufacturing cities in the Union.*

I have alluded to the embargo and non-intercourse which preceded the war of 1812 with Great Britain. The destitution of the country of many articles of the first necessity, caused by these precedents, was very severe; for they operated to prevent importations before war was declared; whereas the utmost facility should have been given to obtain abundant stocks of articles of the first necessity to prepare for the coming contest.

Salt sold in Richmond at one period of the war at twenty-five dollars per sack, and some persons undertook to make it along the seashore, by boiling the salt water in large kettles; others in vats, by solar evaporation. Brown sugar sold at twenty-five cents or more per pound, coffee at forty or fifty cents, and almost all imported commodities in proportion.

The supplies we obtained were not so much by importation as by capture from the enemy. Our privateers were numerous, daring, and frequently successful in getting their prizes into those ports which the enemy could not easily blockade.

The exports we made from Richmond, Petersburg, &c., were chiefly by way of Amelia Island, at the northern extremity of East Florida, then a Spanish colony, and neutral. Tobacco, the principal and almost the only article, was transported partly in small vessels through the inlets and sounds of North and South Carolina and Georgia, partly by wagons, at an enormous expense and risk, and with great labor and trouble—but all these were well compensated by the price of four or five shillings sterling per pound for such as got safely to market, the first cost being about as many cents.

The central position of Virginia was most unfavorable for this forced trade. The New England States resorted to Eastport, in Maine, on our northeastern boundary, where there seemed to exist a good understanding with their opposite neighbors and enemies. They each obeyed the injunction, "Love your enemies as yourselves." The same vessel might be repeatedly captured and recaptured, and the prize money on both sides be divided between the amicable belligerents—friendly spoliations being made by previous arrangements.

The dangerous coast of North Carolina was deemed a safeguard by

* Although not immediately pertaining to my subject, I will here take occasion to note, on the authority of Col. Byrd, that Col. Spotswood, on the Rappahannock, was the first person in America who built a furnace for making pig (or *sow*) iron. There were some bloomeries in New-England and Pennsylvania, and following the Col.'s example, they introduced furnaces. There were at this time (1732) four furnaces in Virginia, near the Rappahannock, above Fredericksburg, and the *sow* iron they made was carted fifteen to twenty-four miles to boat navigation, thence down to the port of shipment, where it was put on board vessels for England at a freight of 7s. 6d. per ton (in lieu of ballast), which with the other charges on it amounted to 20s., and it was sold at 120s. per ton. There were at that date so few ships at Philadelphia that the makers of iron in Pennsylvania had to work it up for home use. At that time, says Byrd, "Great Britain had imported from Spain, Holland, Denmark, Sweden, and Muscovy, no less than 20,000 tons yearly." Great Britain now produces over three million tons.

some enterprising men, who relied on the fleetness of their clippers and the dangers of their coast, to carry on trade with Cuba, &c.

Virginia had to depend chiefly on hard knocks, and Norfolk rejoiced now and then in the arrival of some captured ship, and a prize to her saucy Jack or daring Roger. A similar recourse for supplies and a similar employment for our vessels will not, I hope, recur.

The first grist-mill in Virginia was built, I am told, near the spot where *Haxall's* mills now stands, or run. It was a mere wooden shanty, built on the rocks in the river, and approached by planks laid from one rock to another. The machinery was a common tub wheel, propelled by a natural rapid, and gave motion to a pair of mill stones, which served to grind corn for the inhabitants. Twenty-two pairs now grind eight hundred barrels of flour per day, more or less, according to circumstances; and from the extensive additions to the buildings recently made, perhaps some ten or twenty pairs more may be added to the establishment.

In the long interval between the erection of the shanty and of *Haxall's* mills, the site of the latter was occupied by *Ross's* mills, which were swept off by a freshet and rebuilt. They then acquired celebrity as *Gallego's* mills, the first of the name, and resisted the floods to fall a victim to the flames, as did the next generation of mills on the same spot.

The *Gallego* mills changed their locality to a site on the canal, some miles above the city, and these twice shared the fate of their predecessors. Then was erected a much larger establishment on the basin, which after a few years was also destroyed by fire. The enterprising owners, however, nothing daunted, rebuilt them on even a more extended scale, and are now erecting another building of similar dimensions, the machinery in which, if introduced, to be propelled by the same water-power repeated—constituting probably the largest mills in the world.

‡ A portion of the armory had been converted (like the sword to a ploughshare) into a flour mill; but I believe the State is not a partner, and may permit it on the ground that it is better to manufacture food than firearms. A large flour-mill has been erected at *Tredegear*, a short distance above the armory, and here grain is ground and cannons are cast, in close proximity. This, however, as well as two other flour-mills, *Taliaferro's*, and *Bragg's*, on the *Manchester* side, are all of recent construction, and do not belong to by-gone days; but those do which preceded them, and occupied the same ground. *Cunningham's*, afterward *Rutherford's* mill, and also a distillery and a tan-yard, stood where the *Tredegear Iron Works* are. The mill was burnt and rebuilt, and burned again, if I mistake not; and Mr. Rutherford built a mill higher up the canal, which suffered the fate of *Sebastopol*, by bombardment, in the process of blasting rock to widen the canal.

To a stranger, a walk along the banks of the canal is well compensated by a view of the armory, the *Tredegear* iron works, the mills, the water works, *Belle Isle* (where there are also iron works) and the rapids; and though last, not least, the *Hollywood* cemetery.

"OLD DOMINION IRON AND NAIL WORKS.*—We recently had the pleasure of visiting these extensive works, on Belle Isle, and were so much surprised and gratified by the magnitude and completeness of the operations, which we witnessed for the first time, that we could not but reproach ourself for having failed heretofore to visit one of the most interesting and important manufacturing establishments in or near this city. Belle Isle, as most of our city readers are aware, is a large island situated in the falls of James river, near the Chesterfield shore, and about one third of a mile above the Petersburg railroad bridge. Its area is about fifty acres, about one fourth of which belongs to the iron and nail company—the residue, which is unimproved, to the estate of the late Dr. Brockenbrough. The surface of the island is undulating, and near the centre it rises into a bold eminence, from the summit of which an extended and magnificent view of Richmond and the surrounding country is obtained.

"The iron works are located on the southern side of the island, and were erected twenty odd years ago by a joint stock company, for the purpose of manufacturing bar iron. The business languished for a number of years, and perhaps would have ceased to exist but for the construction of the Richmond and Danville railroad, and the enterprise of Messrs. Wm. S. Triplett and Hugh W. Fry, the largest stockholders of the company. These gentlemen, about ten years ago, directed their means and energies to the establishment of a nail factory on the island, and have now the satisfaction of knowing that they are at the head of one of the most successful and prosperous establishments of this kind in the United States. Mr. Triplett is president of the company, and while he will now enjoy the fruition of his own energy, and reap the substantial benefits which will arise from the success of his schemes, he is entitled to the credit of having largely contributed to the manufacturing importance of Richmond.

"The first department of the works which we visited was the saw-mill, or keg factory. The operations were exceedingly interesting—the whole process of preparing the timber for coopers being carried on by machinery. The pine logs used here are sawed into billets for the staves, and boards for the headings. The billets are cut into staves, by saws attached to the ends of revolving cylinders, which give them the requisite curve on both sides. Each billet is placed on an automatic runner, which carries the wood against the saw, until a staff is cut off. It then springs back, re-adjusts the billet to the desired thickness, and continues the process until the wood is all cut. The staves are then passed to a circular saw, by which they are trimmed to a uniform width and bevel. Thence they are taken to a large yard, and piled up to be 'seasoned,' before they are conveyed to the cooper's shop. Another interesting process is the cutting out of the heads. This is also accomplished by machinery, in a remarkable manner. An operative passes a board between two revolving saws, the teeth or blades of which project inwardly, toward each other. The board is pressed alternately against each saw, and in a moment of time, the circular head is edged and cut out, ready for the cooper. The same process, by hand, would occupy from twenty to thirty minutes. The coopers' shop is about fifty yards distant, and the rapidity and skill exhibited by the operatives there are quite astonishing.

"We next went into the rolling mill, and saw the puddlers at work. In this department pig iron is converted into bars by the usual process. Further on, under the same roof, the bars are cut into pieces about fifteen inches long. These pieces are then fastened together in 'billets,' and reheated in other furnaces, whence they are taken to ponderous rollers, and flattened out into narrow sheets. When these sheets are sufficiently cool, they are conveyed to the shears and cut up into strips. The thickness of the sheets determines the width of the strips, as the strips determine the length or 'size' of the nails to be cut from them. A sheet of iron ten feet long is chopped up in about three minutes.

"We next repaired to the second story of a large wooden house and witnessed the final process of nail-making. Arranged in rows, the length of the building,

* This description of the extensive nail works, in Richmond, is furnished us by one of the local papers.

were fifty cutting machines in operation, making a tremendous noise, and jarring the fragile building with a degree of violence which caused us to hesitate before consenting to follow our guide. We ventured in, however, and were repaid for our risk. At each machine an operative was seated holding in his right hand a stick terminating in a kind of pincers, which held firmly in its grasp one of those *strips* of iron above mentioned. With this instrument the machine is fed, The powerful *jaw* or knife of the cutter snaps off a piece of the metal, which instantly receives a violent blow at one end to form the head, and then falls through the machine, at the feet of the operative, a finished nail. The size of the nail regulates the quantity produced, but the average is between eight and ten kegs a day, from each machine—the capacity of each keg being 100 lbs. From thirty to forty different sizes of nails can be made at these works, but the machines are employed the greater portion of the year in cutting those sizes which command the readiest sale. Adjoining the cutting room is the packing department, where two or three laborers are constantly engaged in packing the nails in kegs.

"Formerly, the materials used at these works, and the products, were conveyed across the river, to and from the Richmond shore, in barges. The expense of this mode of transportation was very heavy, and materially curtailed the profits of the company. Now, the coal is brought from the Chesterfield mines, in cars, over the Richmond and Danville Railroad, and deposited near the furnaces; the metal used is brought from the wharf opposite Rockets, over a branch of the same road, and the nails transported to the wharf or depot, by the return cars. Apart from the great convenience of this mode of transportation, its comparative cheapness, as compared with the old method, is equivalent to a large profit. The island is connected with the Chesterfield shore by a substantial covered bridge, costing \$25,000, which amount was advanced by the Old Dominion company, when the bridge was built—six years ago. They have been credited with the freight charges accruing since that time, and the outlay being now balanced, the bridge reverts to the railroad company.

"Encouraged by their success and future prospects, the Old Dominion company have resolved to make further improvements at their works. The wooden buildings will all be pulled down, and fire-proof structures erected in their stead. The saving of insurance thus effected will equal in amount the interest on the outlay. The new buildings will be located so as to simplify and facilitate the operations.

"The annual production of nails by the Old Dominion Iron and Nail Company is from seventy-five thousand to eighty thousand kegs. Ten years ago the production was only twenty-five thousand kegs a year. A hundred and eighty thousand bushels of coal and four thousand five hundred tons of iron are consumed annually in this manufactory. The total value of the manufactures is about \$1,000 per day. The nails made here have obtained an extensive reputation, and are unsurpassed in the United States. They are sold in nearly all the Southern and Southwestern States, and the more they become known, the greater is the demand for them. A hundred and seventy-five operatives are employed in this establishment, making, with their families, probably five hundred persons dependent upon it. On the island there is a small church and Sunday-school room, for the benefit of those employes who live there. Probably there is no place in the United States which, from the advantages of iron and coal, its almost unlimited water power, its isolated position—capable of being impregnablely fortified—and its railroad communications, could make a better site than 'Belle Isle' for a national foundry. The superintendent of the Belle Isle Works is Mr. Douglas Baird, an intelligent and energetic Scotchman, whose skill, industry, and fidelity, have contributed essentially to the present prosperous condition of the establishment."

TOBACCO WAREHOUSES OF RICHMOND.

WHERE *tobacco* is in almost every one's mouth, either for mastication, fumigation, inhalation, or discussion, and where it constitutes

one of the most important commercial staples, it seems proper to notice it, though I fear that my fair readers, if I have any, may turn up their pretty noses at it, instead of turning it up their pretty noses, against which latter turn I enter my protest, as well as against the practice of *dipping*, which I will not explain, lest an Eve-like, and evil curiosity might induce some now sweet lips to try the experiment, and I won't play the serpent to tempt them.

Tobacco is now a universal medium of introduction, among those who are addicted to its use; but in the early days of Virginia, and until the last seventy or eighty years, it was a *circulating medium* in the place of money. Even the parson's salary and fees were rated at so many pounds of tobacco, estimated at two pence per pound.

The *Tobacco Warehouses* or *Inspections* in Richmond, fifty years ago, were *Shockæ*, a mere cluster of wooden sheds; *Byrd's*, of brick, opposite to the present Exchange Hotel; and *Rockets*, of which a portion of the walls is now standing, their aspect from the river having the appearance of an old fortification. The two latter ceased their vocation long since, as has also one of later date, below *Rockets*, called *Powhatan*, from being built near the wigwam of that king. It is now converted into a number of dwellings, and serves to shelter other heads than hogsheads. In later years, the *Public Warehouse*, on the Basin, became an *Inspection*, and *Seabrook's* was built in the valley.

In old times a furnace stood near each warehouse, and tobacco unfit for export, was treated as heretics were at an *auto-da-fé*, as being unfit for salvation—both were burned; and now both are suffered to pass for what they are worth.

The primitive mode of transporting tobacco to market was curious. The cask containing it, was actually rolled to market on its own periphery, through mud and stream. A long wooden spike, driven into the centre of each end, and projecting a few inches beyond it, served for an axletree; a split sapling was fitted to it for shafts, and extended in rear of the cask, they were there connected by a hickory withe; a few slabs were nailed to these, in front of the cask, forming a sort of foot board, or box, in which were stowed a middling or two of bacon, a bag of meal, a frying pan, a hoe, an axe, and a blanket, for the bipeds; the whole covered to some height with fodder, for the quadrupeds. If the distance to market was moderate, the hogshead was rolled on its hoops, which were stout and numerous; but if fifty to a hundred miles, or more, were to be overcome, rough felloes were spiked on at each end, or quarter of the cask, and these rude tires served to protect it from being worn through. Rough felloes also were the conductors.

The *tobacco roller*, as the driver (often the owner) was called, sought no roof for shelter, during his journey, sometimes of a week's duration, and severe toil; but at nightfall he kindled a fire in the woods by the roadside, baked a hoe cake, fried some bacon, fed his team (I omitted to mention the bag of corn), rolled his blanket around him, and slept by the fire, under the lee of his cask.

When he reached the warehouse, his tobacco was inspected, a note or receipt expressing the weight, etc., was handed him, and he then sallied forth into the streets in search of a purchaser, calling out as he entered a store, "Mister, do you buy tobacco?" When he had found the right "Mister," and obtained his money, and a few articles to carry to his "old woman," he strapped the blanket on one of his horses and rode home. These men generally travelled in small parties, and if the weather and roads were good, had a merry time of it; if bad, they assisted each other, when obstacles occurred.

The journey from beyond Roanoke, which then consumed six days, is now performed in as many hours, and for the labor of two hundred and fifty horses, and almost as many men and boys (for a boy usually accompanied each man), during ten days going and returning, is now substituted a train of railroad cars, with some four or five men, for half a day, and at one fourth of the expense.

It were superfluous to draw the contrast of those days with the present. Tobacco rollers are an extinct species. Instead of them, tobacco buyers throng the warehouses. Manufactories of the weed have sprung up in every direction. The largest buildings in the city are, with few exceptions, tobacco factories; and I may venture to say that more tobacco is manufactured in Richmond, than in any other place in the world. Such vulgar terms as "*negro-head and pig-tail*" are discarded, and the most fanciful ones substituted; "*Honey dew*," "*Christian's comfort*," "*Heart's delight*," "*Perfect love*," "*Rosebud*," and "*Cousin Sally*," are adopted. Artists are employed to design and execute embellishments for the packages, and various sweets, spirits, spices, and essences, are used to give flavor or to conceal it.

Italy, Spain, and France, furnish thousands of boxes of Liquorice, and of Olive Oil, to sweeten, and to brighten the quid—but they do not accept a *quid pro quo*, by permitting the importation of "*Christian's comfort*," "or "*Heart's delight*," or any other of the consolations prepared abroad, for the lovers of tobacco.*

THE COLORED ARISTOCRACY OF RICHMOND.

THE servants belonging to the old families in Virginia, and especially those pertaining to domestic households, were as proud of their position, as if the establishment was their own. I do not speak of the new negroes, as the imported Africans were called, but of their descendants.

The house-servants acquired something of the polite and respectful demeanor which prevailed among the gentility, and in their inter-

* The following advertisement, which does not exclude Liquorice, Rum, Olive Oil, and Sugar, will give an idea of the condiments used in preparing tobacco for mastication.

To Tobacconists—500 lbs. large black Angustura Tonqua Beans; 200 lbs. Oil of Cinnamon, Cloves, Pepp., &c.; 1,000 lbs. good Gum Arabic, in bales, low priced; 25 bottles English Essential Oil Bitter Almonds; 1,000 lbs. Cloves, Allspice, Nutmegs, Cassia, &c.; Oil of Sweet-Flag Root; Branding Paint, red and blue; a large assortment of copper bound Branding Brushes; Varnish; Spirits Turpentine, and every article used about a factory, at low prices.

course with each other, they aped it to the ludicrous extent of "High life below stairs." *Master Jupiter* would inquire of *Mistress Venus* how *Master Cupid* was; but, in addressing those servants who were many years their seniors, uncle and aunt were the respectful terms used, and these were adopted by the white children of the family, for they would have been thought disrespectful and ill bred to speak to old servants without giving the appellation of Uncle Adam or Aunt Eve.

The coachman, in an old family, felt as proud of his position on the box, as he could have felt had he been inside; and he would issue his orders to the footman and stable boys in as authoritative a tone as if he occupied that position.

Besides the pride of station, there was a strong attachment generally, on the part of servants, to their masters and mistresses, and this descended to the next generation, and was mutual on both sides. The changes which have been brought about in the breaking up of families, by death, misfortune, remote intermarriages, &c., have greatly diminished the number of these ancient and respectable domestic establishments; but many yet exist on the tide waters of Virginia; some have been transplanted to the upper country, and it is to be hoped that this beautiful, patriarchal system will, in spite of the mischievous and wicked interference of abolitionists, extend, instead of being further contracted.

The most prominent member of the black aristocracy of my early years, was *Sy. Gilliat* (probably Simon or Cyrus), the leading violinist (fiddler was then the word) at the balls and dancing parties. He traced his title to position, to the days of vice-royalty, having held office under Lord Botetourt, when governor, but whether behind his chair or his coach is in the mist of obscurity.

Sy. Gilliat flourished in Richmond, in the first decade of this century, and I know not how many of the last. He was tall, and even in his old age (if he ever grew old), erect and dignified. When he appeared officially in the orchestra, his dress was an embroidered silk coat and vest of faded lilac, small clothes (he would not say breeches), and silk stockings (which rather betrayed the African prominence of the shin-bone), and terminating in shoes fastened or decorated with large buckles; this court-dress being of the reign of Lord Botetourt, and probably part of the fifty suits which, according to the inventory he made, constituted his wardrobe. To complete this court costume, *Sy.* wore a brown wig, with side curls, and a long queue appended. His manners were as courtly as his dress, and he elbowed himself and his fiddlestick through the world with great propriety and harmony.

Belonging to the vice-regal family, *Sy.* belonged, of course, to the Church of England; this was one qualification for the office of sexton (not grave-digger), and his residence being very near the church in Richmond, was an inducement for the wardens to confer on him the appointment; although strict constructionists might have considered, like Ephraim Smooth, that he was "a man of sin, rubbing the

hair of the horse against the bowels of the cat ;" but he obtained and filled the office for some time. He was, however, impelled to resign it in a fit of unrighteous indignation, excited by hearing that he was suspected of partaking of the wine, without the other ceremonies of the sacrament. His declaration, that he had drank Lord Botetourt's best wine long before his accusers knew the difference between Malaga and Malmsey, while it vindicated Sy.'s connoisseurship, did not obtain his absolution of the charge, and he left the service of the church.

Sy. could not have many associates without compromising his dignity, for there were few of the old aristocracy remaining ; but in addition to these, he permitted the intimacy of some of the leading stewards, coachmen, and head cooks of the best families.

His cotemporary, *Bob Cooley*, had also served the nobility at Williamsburg, and when that city lost its pre-eminence Bob was fain to follow a republican governor to Richmond, where, for many years, he was intrusted with the keys of the capitol, and flourished his besom over its floor and furniture. His court-dress was a time-honored suit of black velvet, ample in the skirts and flaps.

If Sy. was the Chesterfield, Bob might be called the Burleigh of their day. Sy. acquired his courtly and elegant demeanor by frequenting balls and parties, and Bob his solemn deportment by attending in council chambers and courts of justice. By dusting the judge's cushion, he seemed to have acquired the solemn aspect of the dignitary who sat on it. Bob did not, however, attach a handle to his name, to indicate the dignity of office—but one was assumed by his successor, who appended the initials K. K. K., indicating keeper of the keys of the capitol.

Nick Scott, another member of the colored aristocracy, kept his coach for many years, without pride, or insolence, or imposition, and he took his seat on the box, thus showing an example to his children.

Before the female province of pastry was subdued by the countrymen of Napoleon, there flourished, in Richmond, a lady of the dark aristocracy, *Mrs. Nancy Byrd*, a name that carries its own passport to distinction. No dinner nor supper party could be complete, unless she had a finger in the pie. She held undisputed sway over the dessert, with the rolling-pin for her sceptre ; and considered herself as forming the under-crust of gentility, along with her compeers.

Among the queer members of our dark circle, some fifty years ago, was Jack Baker, the servant of a Scotch merchant, Mr. Dunsmure, on Main above Fourteenth Street—a bachelor—for Jack was too full of fun and mischief to serve a mistress. I must premise that he is not to be ranked with the sable aristocracy. He was a capital mimic, and a perfect supple Jack, in agility.

Jack furnished amusement to the whole neighborhood. He could assume the tone and manner of each resident in it, who had any marked peculiarity, and the subject of his imitative powers would occasionally be concealed behind a door, to hear himself taken off to

the life, provided he could restrain his mirth or his anger during the performance. A guarantee was given beforehand, that the mimic should go scot free. The object of his mimicry would be compensated for being shown up, by seeing some of his neighbors undergo the same process.

Jack's performances furnished rare fun in the dog-days, when business was dull, and his pocket was furnished by the same process.

One of Jack's private amusements was, to call a servant in the tone of his master, and when the servant appeared, the supposed master had disappeared. His most frequent dupe was a next door neighbor, whose master, a Scotch gentleman, took frequent trips to the country on horseback. During his absence, Jack would, before retiring to bed, rap on the gate and call "Jasper! come and take my horse." Jasper, aroused from his nap, came, but found neither master nor horse, and well knew who quizzed him. One night the veritable master made the call, some time after Jack had given a false alarm. Jasper was out of patience, and replied, in a loud voice, "D—n you, old fellow, if you call me again, I'll come out and thrash you!" After that, poor Jasper was at Jack's mercy, unless he resorted to "thrashing."

Another of Jack's amusements, was in the exercise of his agility. Besides turning summersets, and playing other tricks he had seen in the circus, he had a mode of locomotion peculiar to himself, if his progress was to be down the street. He would throw his arms and legs into the form of an X, and by a suitable impetus, set himself in motion like a wheel, and making his four extremities the spokes, would roll along the footway with a velocity exceeding mere pedestrianism.

In these days, when Ethiopian minstrels and Mimmers are represented by their white brethren, Jack's talents would be invaluable; and had there been a Barnum in those days, Jack would have been as great a celebrity as Joyce Heth, or the Mermaid, or the Bearded Woman; but with all the fame and fortune to be derived from a Barnum's management, Jack's happiness would not have been greater than it was.

This list of dark celebrities will now close with a minute specimen, but an aristocratic one.

Jack Selden was a very small black dwarf (also adapted to adoption by Barnum), and was an appendage to the household of Dr. McClurg. In my early days he was well stricken in years, but not bowed down by them; he made the most of his inches, by being very erect, which harmonized with his dignified and serious deportment. Neat in his dress, which was in the cut of gentility—most scrupulously polite in his formal bow—deliberate and ceremonious in speech—he was a perfect Liliputian courtier of the olden time; a black Chesterfield in miniature.

He was the page of his old and his young mistress, and reminded one of the descriptions given of such attendants in ancient times.

Jack had one of the genteel failings of his day and generation—love. Not solely of the fair sex, but of the juice of the grape; to the indulgence of which, (the latter I mean), he ultimately fell a victim; but after many years' enjoyment, to console him for the fatal result.

While I write these closing pages in the Winter of 1855–6, the severest, in the long duration of extreme cold, that I can remember; the river closed for eight weeks in almost its entire length, and the earth covered with a coating of snow of nearly equal duration; the black servants and slaves are provided with food, fuel, and clothing, while our poor-houses, and other receptacles for the destitute and dissipated whites, are crowded to overflowing, chiefly with foreign paupers; contributions are raised, in every mode that can be devised, for the relief of destitute whites, for many of whom we are indebted to our philanthropic brethren of the North, who seek to entice our slaves to the same destitute condition there—perhaps, on the principle of reciprocity. Whether similar charity would be extended to them there, if destitute, is another affair.

A fair friend furnishes this anecdote of what came under her own observation:—

An old negro, who was considered so entirely “one of the family,” as to be in the habit of calling one of his young mistresses Cousin, when addressing her, was once asked by the lady alluded to, “Why he did not, as formerly, attend the meeting-house of his brethren on Sunday?” his reply was, “That when he could sit by Wickham’s Bob and Judge Marshall’s Jack, he liked to join *siety*, but now he never knew who he *sot* by, and he stayed at home.”

This same individual being, during this degenerate time, invited to a party, induced himself to attend, and was furnished with a *pass* till eleven o’clock at night. Arriving at the house where the festival was held, he was exceedingly disgusted by finding himself surrounded altogether by *parvenus*, and being under the impression that he must not return home till the hour designated in his *pass*, he retired to an adjacent room, locked the door, remained there till the hour of eleven arrived, and then returned to his domicile, mourning over the great lights which had been extinguished ere his own had gone out.

Like their betters, the negroes of the present day have their mock-aristocracy, and like them, they sustain it chiefly in dress and pretension. In the streets on Sunday, plainness of attire is rather a mark of true gentility now-a-days. Dashing satin bonnets now cover woolly false curls, a handsome veil conceals a sooty face, which is protected from being sun-burnt by a stylish parasol. A silk dress of gaudy colors sweeps the ground, concealing a splay foot with a receding heel. The beau who struts beside this chambermaid, is attired in a talma or shawl; pants, whose checks or stripes exceed the circumference of his leg, and a vest in which every color vies for pre-eminence. He twirls his watch-chain and his cane, and might almost put a Broadway dandy to the blush. These gentry leave their visiting cards at each other’s kitchens, and on the occasion of a wedding, Miss Dinah Drippings and Mr. Cuffie Coleman have their cards con-

nected by a silken tie, emblematic of that which is to connect themselves, and a third card announces, "At home from ten to one," where those who call will find cakes, fruits, and all sorts of refreshments. And this is not an exaggerated picture of the hardships and miseries which the domestic blacks suffer, and from which their abolition enemies seek to relieve them.

BRITISH MERCHANTS IN RICHMOND.

The term "British merchants" is here used *not* in its general acceptance, but as it was formerly applied in Virginia, to those who had establishments here, and who, in fact, had the monopoly of trade in most of the Southern States. Far be it from me to impugn the integrity and liberality of so truly noble a class as the British merchants, or to reflect on any nationalities, classes or sects.

On another page it is stated that supplies of goods were imported into Virginia, previous to, and for a score of years after the Revolution, chiefly by English, Scotch, and Irish merchants. The principals of these mercantile houses resided in Great Britain, and junior partners conducted the business in Virginia. Some of these concerns branched out, like polypi, to the villages and court-houses, and some of them, also like polypi, consumed the substance of all that came within their grasp. There were, however, many honorable exceptions to this rule.

It was said to be one of the stipulations between the principals of these houses and the young men they sent to Virginia as clerks, that they were not to marry in Virginia. They came with the prospect of being admitted as partners in some branch of the central establishment, and it might weaken the sordid attachment to their patrons if they formed an attachment of a purer and tenderer nature to the fair daughters of their customers. They might make less stringent bargains, or be more indulgent in requiring payments. This monkish system tended to prevent that social intercourse between merchant and planter, which the hospitable disposition of the latter would have encouraged, and this exclusion of the former from good society led to the formation of connections of a disreputable character, and to habits of intemperance, to which many of them became victims.

With a moderate share of prudence and industry, the acquisition of a fortune was almost certain. Competition did not interfere to reduce the profits on goods below forty or fifty per cent., nor to raise the price of tobacco, which was generally taken in payment, above sixteen shillings and eight pence (\$2 78) or eighteen shillings (\$3 00) per one hundred pounds, and, at that time, the sale of no tobacco other than good leaf or stemmed was permitted—such as was not merchantable, if presented for inspection, was burnt. Previous to the Revolution, a convention of the (Virginia) British merchants was semi-annually held at Williamsburg, when the prices they would allow for tobacco was fixed for the then current year, after the crops were pretty well ascertained. This was trading on a pretty safe basis, as the partners abroad could control the prices there in a great

degree. Those planters who lived extravagantly were apt to fall in debt to their merchants, and would give bonds, renewed from year to year, with interest added, until a mortgage or deed of trust ensued, and thus some fine estates changed hands from planter to merchant.

Loans were also made to the planters, which were apt to prove ruinous to the borrowers. One mode of evading the usury law was by buying from the planter a bill of exchange, drawn by him on some person or thing in London, at a very low rate of exchange; which bill would of course be protested and returned, subject to damages, and a refund at the current rate of exchange, thus involving a loss of twenty-five per cent. or more, for about six month's use of the money. I have heard that such bills had been drawn on "the pump at Aldgate," and that on one occasion, when the planter was at a loss for a name to draw on, the pious merchant suggested "the Bishop of London," which was adopted. When the bill was presented to his reverence, he was much surprised, but thinking there must be some proper ground for it, he consulted a friend as to the course to be pursued, stating that he did not know the drawer, nor any cause for such a bill, and wished to be advised how to act. A protest was of course the result, and no grace was given to the graceless parties.

This system of evading the usury law gave rise to an enactment by the legislature of Virginia, requiring, that after the sum in sterling on the face of the bill, it should also express in currency the amount actually received for it, and, if this was omitted, the holder could recover no more pounds in currency than were drawn for in sterling.

The British merchants had drawn the Virginia planters so deeply in debt to them, and the cessation of trade during the Revolution had caused such an advance in the price of imported goods, and so great a depreciation in that of produce, that to save the planters from ruin, and to punish the merchants for Toryism, the legislature passed an act confiscating British debts, and authorizing the treasurer to collect them. The effect of this was annulled when peace took place.

The monopoly of the trade of Virginia, in effect, was retained by the British merchants, many years after the peace of 1783, but adventurers from the Northern and Eastern States, gradually made good their footing, and created competition, and even some Virginians condescended to stand behind the desk or the counter. Some of the imported celibates relinquished their vows, and became engrafted on society, and thus an entire change was brought about in our commercial system.

When all our goods were imported direct from abroad, and our produce exported to Europe, we paid dearly for the honor of such direct trade, and found it for our interest to introduce Northern competition, which increased by slow degrees.

The first bold innovator, who dared to compete, on a large scale, with the importers, was Bartlett Still. He purchased his goods in the Northern cities, priced them in dollars and cents, instead of pounds, shillings, and pence, and sold for cash. His fancy articles were more stylish, and his store more showy and brilliant than those

of the old fogies, and he attracted the fashionable custom. His deeds were celebrated in rhyme, which gave increased notoriety to his establishment.

His example was soon followed, and "new store" was succeeded by "NEW new store;" which latter throve so well that those of the next generation became stock-jobbers, millionaires, and bankrupts, in New-York, in rapid succession.

Thus, by degrees, the purchase of goods in New-York and Philadelphia became the rule, and direct importation the exception. Of late years, the largest portion of our tobacco crop is manufactured at home, and sold at the North, but the quantity shipped direct to Europe, is equal to the demand, now that the Western States furnish so large a supply to markets abroad.

The system which formerly existed, prevented an accumulation of commercial capital in Richmond, or in any town in Virginia, and thus stunted their growth. The profits on trade, went, in the first instance, chiefly to the principals, in Great Britain, and when their Virginia partners had amassed a comfortable capital, having no family ties here, they would retire to "the old country," as they called it, with the capital they had accumulated; and this continual drain kept "the new country" poor.

Many adventurers from the Northern States, after making money here, would return to spend or increase it there. It is of late years, comparatively, that a large mercantile capital has become stable in Virginia. Millions, almost, might be counted up, that were abstracted from Richmond and Petersburg, in former days, to establish those merchants who had accumulated it here, in London, Liverpool, and New York, while scarcely any capital came from those cities to replace it.

ART. IX.—THE BRITISH WEST INDIES.

THE NEGROES IN THE BRITISH WEST INDIES GENERALLY.

"Replenish the earth and subdue it; and have dominion over the fish of the sea, and over the fowls of the air, and over every living thing that moveth upon the earth."

"In the sweat of thy face shalt thou eat bread."—*Genesis*.

"Conquest, colonization, or some stringent means must be employed to raise the people of Guinea to humanity, before the Gospel can elevate them to Christianity. Some people believe that schools are the means to prepare the people for Christianity; but schools cannot create the wants to drive men into civilization, and they could not supply those wants if already created. Desires to stimulate, labor to supply, and the strong arm of law to direct and restrain, are indispensable to the improvement of any barbarous nation"—REV. T. J. BOWEN'S *Missionary Labors in the Interior of Africa from 1849 to 1856*. Chap. VII.

"No permanent elevation of a people can be effected without commerce."—REV. DR. LIVINGSTONE'S *Travels in Africa*, p. 228.

"Sending the Gospel to the heathen must, if this view be correct, include much more than is implied in the usual picture of a missionary, viz., a man going about with a Bible under his arm. The promotion of commerce ought to be specially attended to, as this, more speedily than any thing else, demolishes that sense of isolation which heathenism engenders."—*Ibid.* p. 29.

"Is not commerce beginning to teach men a policy what Christianity has been teaching as a duty?"—DR. CUMMING'S *Voice of the Night*.

"The development of human knowledge is inseparable from the progress of industry and national wealth."—HUMBOLDT.

"It is the struggle for existence, the battle of life, which exercises the moral faculties and calls forth the latent sparks of genius."—WALLACE'S *Travels in Brazil*.

"The more I studied the progress of the European settlements in America, the more thoroughly was I convinced of what I deem an infallible truth, that the *History of Navigation and Commerce is the History of Civilization*."—*The Progress of America*, by JOHN MAC-GREGOR. Preface.

"Thus it is, that of all the great social improvements, the accumulation of wealth must be the first, because without it there can neither be taste nor leisure for that acquisition of knowledge on which the progress of civilization depends."—*Hist. of Civilization in England*, BUCKLE, Vol. I. Introduction, p. 39.

FORMERLY, and until within a very late period, the best of men believed that to do their duty on earth was to have as little to do with earth as possible; abstinence and the cloister were supposed to be the chief ends of man. Conversion of the heathen consisted in baptizing hundreds of thousands of men, and then isolating them from all contact with surrounding people, or the wicked creatures who sail in ships. The idea was that all the tribes of savages scattered over the earth were to be divided into separate communities, under the charge of their spiritual heads, and to pass their time in given pastimes, praying, preaching, singing sweet psalms and hymns, and living above the world and all its vulgar, material concerns. And acting upon this notion, the Catholics of the sixteenth century fairly besprinkled the world with missionary stations; their good Fathers flocked as eagerly to the unhealthy shores of Congo, as to the more genial climes of Japan; while in North and South America, all the most fertile spots from Valparaiso to San Francisco, and from Buenos Ayres to Vera Cruz, were the seats of French or Spanish missions, peopled by flocks living as secluded from the world as the princes of the happy valley of Amhara, or the nymphs of the fabled Isle of Calypso.

But where, now, are all these Utopias? What has become of this hot-house piety unsupported by industry and commerce? Let the ruined churches and degraded population of Congo answer; let the idolators of Japan protest; and let the dissolute and half-civilized natives still hanging about the abandoned missions of South America, Mexico, and California, tell what are the results of that sort of religion which neglects one of the most important and frequently repeated precepts of the Bible, viz., the command to be diligent, to redeem the time, to subdue the earth, &c.

In Paraguay the missionaries numbered 120,000 converts; they had every thing their own way—full scope to make model Christians; they even had authority from the King of Spain to exclude all Europeans, and if necessity sometimes compelled a stranger to pass through this terrestrial paradise, he was permitted to remain only three days, lest he should contaminate the people, and at the expiration of that time, he was conducted beyond the limits of the place. So pure and holy were these Indians become in a short time, that the Père Bouchet, who visited them in 1716, says: "I doubt if there is in the Christian world a more righteous people. The modesty, gentleness, faith, disinterestedness, union and charity which dwell among these converts, remind me constantly of those happy days of the Church, when Christians weaned from the things of earth had only one heart and one mind." *

* *Lettres Edifiantes*, Tome VIII., p. 319

But what is the description given of this mission by travellers of the next century?

"Little but desolation," say they, "is now to be seen, where once the Jesuit's house and the Indian's cottage stood in peaceful prosperity side by side. The public buildings have disappeared; the churches are all in ruins; the cottages have degenerated into native wigwams; briars and weeds everywhere complete the picture of decay; the population has dwindled from thousands to hundreds; and such as still remain have half resumed the indolence of the savage, and stand listless, desolate and sad at the doors of their poverty-stricken dwellings; while in villages which could once pay a yearly tribute to the king, the superior of the missions can hardly find wherewithal to keep starvation from his people."*

Quite similar is the history of Congo, as well as that of most of the missions planted in the sixteenth century. All the Fathers of that age seemed to ignore the fact, that mankind is living under the curse of labor, which, accepted and complied with, is, in his present condition, his greatest blessing; they were ignorant that true piety teaches us to live in the world, without setting our hearts upon it, and that commerce, even, is only the principle of love carried out to a fuller extent, watering him that waters.

But the results of this old system, palpably bad as they are, have not yet convinced a large portion of mankind of the error of such a narrow policy. The missionaries of the Sandwich Islands are always quarrelling with the commercial men, and fancying that if they could only isolate the natives, they would soon sweep them all into the Church. And perhaps the majority of Christians at this very day believe that mankind are getting too much engrossed with steamships, cotton bales, telegraphs, printing presses, and other such things, forgetting that industry and commerce are direct results of obedience to the Gospel, and that they in turn enable us to print, ship and supply mankind annually with millions of Bibles, tracts, and religious books; that they can send ten times as many missionaries all over the world as formerly, at a less cost; that they can, with ease, succor from famine whole nations that must otherwise perish or be decimated; and that, in fact, by speed of travel and labor, and by conciseness of telegraphic talk, the most civilized men, although accomplishing ten-fold what man has ever before accomplished, have really more leisure for devotion, if they choose, than they ever had before. Subduing the earth does not mean merely to scratch up the soil and put in a few seeds, it means to bring all the forces and powers of nature under our control; to make the lightning talk for us; to teach the sun, moon and stars to guide our ships; to turn the idle water into a motive power for our benefit; to get command of the winds and waves

* *Missions in Paraguay*, by Miss Cadell, p. 99. Let it not be said, from these results, that missionary efforts have failed. What is the gauge of success or failure of missionary efforts? Has the mission of our Saviour failed, because the lands where he preached are in the possession of the heathen eighteen centuries after his death?

of the ocean ; to overcome disease* and conquer famine ; to avert cold or heat ; to subdue space even, by facilitating communication between distant points. All this, and much more, sharpens the intellect, excites to industry, preserves us from vice, and adds amazingly to our leisure.

Nature is every where arrayed against man, and either subdues him or is subdued by him ; and these alternatives constitute the only difference between the savage and the civilized man.

All these facts are now recognized by the ablest thinkers, as well as by the most practical men of the day. Thinking men, however they may differ in other respects, are agreed upon one thing, viz., that there can be neither prosperity nor religion, without industry. One of the greatest philosophers ; one of the greatest statisticians ; one of the most prominent of London divines ; one of the most intrepid of missionary travellers ; one of the most learned of late writers—all bring their varied experience, in the citations we have made, to bear upon this one point, and show conclusively that a people must either be industrious, or they will become ignorant and barbarous.

A policy pursued towards the semi-civilized black race of the West Indies during the last quarter of a century, in which these truths have found no recognition, has been one of the principal causes of all the disasters in those colonies, and is rapidly sending back the race to that savage state from which, at infinite pains, they were just beginning to emerge. The history of those islands since emancipation is the history of laziness, and the history of laziness is the history of barbarism.

But here again we are stopped by some, and told that the negro is not naturally idle ; we are told it every day in books, magazines, and newspapers ; and figures even are cited to show that the negro is as industrious now as in the time of slavery.†

* To illustrate the difference between the powers of man, when developed and sharpened by long and constant industry, (for knowledge and science are, after all, nothing more than the representatives of industry,) and the same powers left to rust and ruin, as among idle savages, we have but to consider the conquests made in subduing one of our greatest enemies, and one of the greatest scourges of sloth, viz., disease. The small pox, for instance, which still sweeps off whole tribes of savage nations, and which but lately was the terror of Europe, is now completely mastered—subdued. But the poor Africans in Abyssinia (as well as in many other places) are subdued by it, and such is their terror of it, that we are informed by Bruce, that when it visits that country, which is seldom more frequently than once in fifteen or twenty years, the neighbors surround the first house which they discover to be infected by the disease, and set fire to it while the unfortunate inmates who would endeavor to escape are unmercifully thrust back by their own relations, with lances and forks, into the flames.—See *Bruce's Travels*, Vol. V., Chap. 10.

So also, as we are reminded by Mr. Buckle, has civilized man exterminated the plague and leprosy, which made such havoc in Europe during the middle ages. So prevalent was this latter disease, that in the thirteenth century Europe contained 19,000 leper houses.—See *Buckle's Hist. Civ. in England*, Vol. I. p. 140. and authors cited in note.

But among savages, these or equally fatal diseases are at different periods making terrible ravages. Dr. Barth was informed that about the year 1815, a severe plague had "swept away the greater part of the full grown inhabitants" of Bagirmi, in Africa (see *Travels*, Vol. III., Chap. 51); and the small pox has destroyed millions of North American Indians.

† "It is a mistake often committed," says Dr. Davy, "to suppose that the African is by nature idle and indolent, less inclined to work than the European."—*West Indies*, p. 89.

Again, on p. 91, he is fully convinced that the negro "neither hates labor nor is naturally indolent, when he has a motive to exertion."

"If the negro worked no more than half an hour a day, would the sugar crops in all, except notoriously bad seasons, be so considerable, so little diminished, from what they were in the time of slavery, as is proved by the Custom-house returns?"—*Frazer's Mag.*, Jan., 1850. "The Negro Question."

A little examination will show the true state of the case. The imports into the United Kingdom, from the West Indies and British Guiana, before the abolition of slavery, and in 1852, eighteen years after that period, were as follows—(we leave out cotton altogether, which has decreased from two and a half millions of pounds to less than half a million):

Year.	Sugar, cwt.	Molasses, cwt.	Rum, galls.	Coffee, pounds.
1831	4,103,800	323,306	7,844,157	20,030,902
1852	3,408,627	473,296	5,061,602	3,829,731*

This statement shows results more favorable even than are presented by citing the crops of 1856 and 1857, which for sugar averaged in both years under 3,000,000 lbs.†

Taking, however, the return of sugar for the year 1852, we have, as the produce of

663,899 negroes.....3,408,627 lbs. sugar;
but Barbadoes, which has doubled its sugar products, is an exceptional case, owing to the over-crowded state of its population: we therefore deduct its negroes as well as product of sugar for 1852, say—

83,150 negroes, producing.....743,606 lbs. sugar, then

580,749 negroes produce only.....2,665,021 lbs. sugar.

But this is only the apparent, and not the real state of the case, for since emancipation, up to the year 1852, over 20,000 coolies had been introduced into the West Indies, which represent a far greater addition to the labor of the colonies than the numerical proportions indicate, because, while the negroes had among their number the usual average of women, children and aged persons, the coolies were composed principally of men in the prime of life. Hence a very large part of this sugar was produced by foreign laborers; the exact quantity it is impossible to state, although we know that in British Guiana the negroes now raise scarcely a ton of sugar, while in Trinidad the greater proportion is raised by coolies, or other immigrants. Add to this, that the population of negroes is greater to-day than in 1834, and we may form some idea of the extent to which they have abandoned labor in these islands.

* "It is unjust," says Governor Barkly, "to make general imputations against the negroes of laziness. There are few races of men who will work harder or more perseveringly, when they are sure of getting for themselves the whole produce of their labor."—*Par. Rep.*, 1852.

This remark of Governor Barkly has been often quoted, but there should be appended to it the following remarks, to be found in his despatch dated the 30th of May, 1854, written in Jamaica, in the midst of 400,000 stout free negroes. He says:

"Little, it is true, has yet been accomplished in the way of supplying the deficiency of labor, which has been the main obstacle to remunerative production; nor can anything exceed the hardship of the position in which the planter has been placed during the past year in this respect."—*Par. Rep.*, 1854, par. ii., p. 42.

It would be easy to fill pages with similar official language.

* McCulloch's *Commercial Dictionary*.

† See statement in the *Economist*, giving returns up to 1st of January, 1858.

And yet we are informed that the negro is not idle! Estates are abandoned and tumbling rapidly to ruin, fertile lands are becoming desert, planters and governmental officials are crying for labor, and yet we are told that the negro is industrious if he only has an *inducement* to labor! What might be an inducement to a negro? Has any body of negroes ever been found in any country who had sufficient inducement, short of direct or indirect coercion, to make them work steadily and continuously as white men work?

During the nine years between 1847 and 1856, 47,739 laborers were introduced into the West India islands and British Guiana.* These are just 47,739 protests against the abominable laziness of the negro. The world has been scraped and raked to bring laborers to the West Indies, to eat the bread and hoard the wealth offered to the black man; laborers from China, coolies from India, Portuguese from Modina, Africans from Sierra Leone and from captured slave ships, have all been brought distances of from 5,000 to 15,000 miles to shame this degraded race!—and still we are told there is no inducement for them to work, and that sufficient pay is not offered to them. Is it a reasonable statement to make, to say that the planters can fit out ships and send them to the antipodes for laborers, under a contract to return them to their homes within a given period, and pay them wages during all that period, and yet that they would not rather pay the same money to a laborer on the spot, and one, moreover, both stronger and better acquainted with his duties than the other? The truth is, the blacks will *not* work without coercion, and this is the cause of West India distress and negro retrogression. In endeavoring to hide the truth from our eyes, we are continually hunting up causes, when the real cause is patent before us: the sugar duties bill of 1846 is especially saddled with the burden of West Indian miseries; but we do not know how this charge can be better answered, or a higher authority cited in proof of the idleness of the blacks, than by quoting the remarks of Earl Grey, made in the House of Lords on the 10th of June, 1852. He stated, “that it was established, by statistical facts, that before the measure of 1846 came into operation, all those evils which were now complained of were in actual existence; that the negroes were becoming *idle, and falling back in civilization*, and the like, and to what principal cause had that been attributed? It was attributed by every man who had looked into the state of the colonies to this simple reason, that the negroes had been relieved from the coercion to which they were formerly subjected, and that they were living in a country where there was an almost unlimited extent of fertile land open to them, where the climate did not render fuel or clothing absolutely necessary to life; that *wages were so enormously high* as to enable them to live, as well as they desired to live, upon the production of one or two days’ labor in the fortnight, and that they had consequently no earthly motive to give a greater amount of labor in return for their subsist-

* Par. Rep., 1857, cited by Mr. Cave.—*Times*, Dec. 28, 1857.

ence. The demoralization of the negroes, and their disinclination to work, arising from this cause, commenced long before the Act of 1846. . . . Sir H. Light and Governor Barkly had both shown, in their very able despatches, that the true cause of the mischief was the want of any adequate stimulus to labor on the part of the negroes, from the manner in which the abolition of slavery had been effected."*

It is undeniable, then, that the majority of the free negroes of the West Indies are living in idleness; the proofs of this are abundant and varied; they are visible in the census reports, in the despatches of governors, in the lists of exports, and in the observations of travellers †

The natural consequence of this idleness is poverty; and of poverty, ignorance; and of ignorance, superstition; and of superstition, cruelty to one another, and intense hatred of all other races; and all these things combined lead in their train a list of vices and misery too numerous to cite, but which we designate by the general term, barbarism. We are drawing no fancy picture, but describing actual results.

The terrible havoc made by the cholera all over these islands, was principally owing to the filth and ignorance of the people; while their poverty had driven away from their midst the medical aid they required.

We have already alluded to the misery caused by this terrible visitation in some of the colonies; and we find no cause for gratification in taking a glance at other places.

In the Virgin Islands, for instance, the mortality was very great, and so intense was the panic, that no register of the deaths was kept even in the town; and notwithstanding the need of medical aid, there were only two physicians in the whole colony.‡

In St. Kitt's more than a sixth of the population died, and there was the same want of medical attendance as elsewhere. Dr. Cooper, in his report upon the subject, says:

"In the time of slavery, the owners of slaves on every estate paid the medical men of the district a dollar or a dollar and a half per head per annum for medicines and attendance. Upon the abolition of slavery, this payment by the proprietors was given up, and the laborers left to find their own medical attendant. The result has been that, either from the habit of having had this found them gratuitously, or from a natural dishonesty of character, or from a want of forethought, the black or colored people seldom think of paying a medical bill. The effect of such a state of things is, the gradually diminishing number of resident medical men, for they find it impossible to obtain sufficient money to meet the most frugal expenditure."§

* Par. Deb., Hansard, 3 S. V. 122, p. 394.

† Nearly a fourth part of the whole adult population of Trinidad are returned by the last census as living in idleness. (See Lord Harris's despatch, May 18, 1852.) Compare this with the statistics of Great Britain, where there is an immense population, who could well afford to live in idleness. Thus, in this country in 1841, excluding adults over seventy years of age, there were only eight persons in one thousand having no employment. (See Porter's *Progress of the Nation*, p. 521.) In other words, there are two hundred and fifty persons among the poor population of Trinidad to eight among the wealthy of Great Britain who are idlers—the difference is, the one race *likes*, and the other *hates* work; and a people who will not work *must* be slaves—or, as St. Paul says in substance, whoever will not work, let him not eat.

‡ Gov. Kortright's Despatch, March 9, 1855.

§ Report dated Feb. 28, 1855.

But it is not only to cholera, small-pox, and other diseases, that these people are left a prey; they are also in very great danger of being exposed, sooner or later, to famine. A blight may seize the sugar-cane, or the banana, or some other staple upon which the inhabitants depend for food or support, as has already been the case with the potato of Ireland and the vine of France,* and thus cause immense distress and loss of life; for in such a case the negro, being placed upon an island, is left helpless, and cannot even migrate, as is usual under similar circumstances in Africa; and, owing to his sloth, improvidence, and consequent poverty, he would certainly have no provision made for such a contingency, nor the means of averting it by commerce.

When we consider the severe earthquakes that occasionally visit these islands, causing such damage that even capitalists suffer greatly; and more especially the violent hurricanes, which often injure, if not destroy the crops, in spite of all the care that industry and knowledge use to avert their effects: we may easily suppose that a people, many of whom neither plant nor sow, but trust entirely to the elements of nature for their food, may occasionally become a prey to the freaks of these elements. Thus, famines are recurring continually in Africa, and it might almost be said that the negroes in many parts of that continent are half-starved during a portion of every year, while for the remaining portion they are gorged like anacondas. Even in England, where, owing to our advanced knowledge, scientific men now pronounce famine to be next to impossible, there was, on an average, during the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, a famine once in every fourteen years.

Indeed, what we state now as a possibility has already occurred in Antigua at least three times during the existence of slavery; in 1774 that island produced, besides large quantities of food common to the tropics, 17,000 hhds. of sugar, of 16 cwt. each; but in the years 1770, 1773, and 1778, *there were no crops of any kind*; all the canes were destroyed by a long continuance of dry weather, and the whole body of negroes must have perished from hunger, but for the timely arrival of some American vessels with corn and flour.† Had these negroes been without masters to provide for them at that time—that is, had they been living as many of them are, and as more of them are seeking to live, viz., upon the spontaneous fruits of the earth, and raising nothing for exportation, and consequently unable to import, the probability is, that being thus isolated from mankind, the island would have been depopulated, before chance, or the small trade created by the meagre previous wants of its people, could have directed some friendly vessel to their succor.

Besides these evils, rendered probable by the growing laziness of the people, there are others which must not be overlooked, and these

* Even the coffee plant is now said to have become extinct in the island of Martinique.—London *Dispatch*, April 25, 1858. We are unable to say whether this is owing to disease or neglect.

† See Edward's *Hist. West Indies*, vol. I., p. 447.

are the decline of education and religious instruction, and the consequent increase of immorality. An impoverished people neither desire nor will pay for education; and zealous as are the missionaries, it cannot be expected that they will for ever grant eleemosynary aid to men who are able, if they would, to dispense with it. We do not, by any means, assert, that even the larger portion of that aid is at present of that character, but we think the disposition of the negroes to make it so is a growing one; and that the effects produced by the teachings of the good men now working among them are less marked than formerly. We have not space to cite from the numerous despatches the proofs whence we draw these inferences, but will merely glance at one or two authorities, which make apparent the tendency to which we allude.

Brown, in his *History of the Propagation of Christianity among the Heathen*, in speaking of the negroes of the island of Jamaica, says: "Though, since the abolition of slavery, the numbers connected with the Brethren's congregations in Jamaica have been more than doubled, the character of many of those who compose them is far from being satisfactory. In the days of slavery, such as joined them generally showed some interest in religion, and did not care for reproach or even persecution; but now every one thought it a disgrace not to belong to some church, and therefore sought to be received into them, though they gave no evidence of piety."*

In the Virgin Islands, during the year 1853, there was no pastor of the established church; and the schools of that colony, which had been for some time declining, ceased entirely to exist in August of that year.†

In many of the islands the old heathenish superstitions of Africa are still prevalent. In Grenada the dark belief in Obeah is said, by one of the stipendiary magistrates, to retard the moral improvement of the blacks, and even to unfit them for the common occupations of life.‡

In St. Lucia, both the people of color and the negroes are said to adhere to this African superstition. Obeah is there called Kembois.¶

In Jamaica, so late as the year 1854, a murder was committed at the instigation of an Obeah man.‡

The very language of the negroes, never very good in the West Indies, is partaking of the general decay. English is by no means the universal language of the blacks of these English colonies, as some suppose. In Grenada, for example, a French patois is spoken; in St. Lucia the mass of the people use a similar dialect. In British Guiana the language of the negroes can only be understood by those long used to it. In Trinidad we have a polyglottish patois, composed of French, Spanish, English and African.

The combined operation of all the evils enumerated in our different chapters on the West Indies and British Guiana—the abandonment

* *Hist. Propagation, &c.* Vol. I, p. 258.

‡ Blue Book, cited by Davy, p. 216.

§ Par. Rep. 1856. Gov. Barkly's despatch.

† Par. Rep. 1854-55.

¶ Davy, p. 279.

of regular labor, the ruin of the once flourishing sugar and coffee estates, the desertion of their wealthy proprietors, whose presence and influence upheld civilization; the isolation of the black from the white race in their free villages, after the heathenish system of Africa; their neglect of medical aid, and growing disposition to neglect the instruction of their children; their improvidence, fostered by climate and soil; their superstition and ignorance—all these give cause for the gravest anxieties for the future of these islands and their unfortunate occupants. What is to be the ending of this state of things? On the one hand we see a large body of blacks, living in a climate suited to their nature, growing up in ignorance and idleness, and abusing even the license of freedom; turbulent and quarrelsome when uncontrolled, and if not increasing, at least keeping up their numbers, owing to their great fecundity, in spite of many circumstances adverse to population; on the other, we have a white population, living in a climate unsuitable to their development—a people impoverished by disaster, and in an immense and increasing minority. The blacks view the whites with jealousy, greater than that natural hatred of race, which we see existing every where between people offering strong contrasts, because the possibility of being reduced to slavery again must be ever present to their minds; and with hatred, as their superiors and late owners. The whites can indulge no very pleasant feelings towards the blacks, as the authors of their ruin, and because it is utterly impossible to sympathise with so degraded a people; having nothing in common with them, but being dissimilar in feelings, tastes, education, religion, and the general views of life, it is impossible that they should regard them with anything approaching affection. What is to be expected from two races so situated? We fear that unless strong measures are adopted by the British Government, that the extermination of the white race is the only result that can be looked for, from the presence of such discordant elements as are at present at work.

This is at present going on by a natural process, faster than many imagine. Thus, in a memorial of the president and members of the Jamaica College of Physicians and Surgeons, it is stated, that "the white portion of the community of that island, who have been the agents of the civilization of the lately emancipated peasantry, have been decreasing of late years with a rapidity that threatens to end in their *complete extinction*, and with that must end all the hopes of the moralist and philanthropist as to the destiny of the black population."^{*}

But this gradual process will be too slow for the negro, who has everywhere shown himself, whether in slavery or in freedom, peculiarly apt at and fond of revolt. In this same island of Jamaica the bloody massacre of 1832 is still fresh in our memory; on that occasion thousands were killed, and many more executed.† Not many

^{*} Par. Rep., 1852-'53, vol. 47, p. 153.

† Mr. Schoelcher was informed that 10,000 lives were lost on that occasion. We have not the official figures. See *Hist. de l'Esclavage pendant les deux dernières années*, par V. Schoelcher, p. 497.

years previous, Matt. Lewis describes another plot in the same island, in which the plan was to murder all the whites: "1,000 persons were engaged in it, and 300 of them regularly sworn to assist in it, with all the accompanying ceremonies of drinking human blood, eating earth from graves, &c."*

In 1760 there was a terrible insurrection in this island, in which, according to Edwards, the negroes murdered between thirty and forty whites in one morning; and on one occasion, after butchering helpless persons in their bed, drank their blood mixed with rum, as in Africa.†

The abolition of slavery appears to have made no difference in the exhibition of this hatred towards the white race. Sir C. E. Gray writes, in his despatch dated 31st December, 1851, that there had been in Jamaica "three serious riots" during the past year.‡

In Tortola there was a savage riot in 1853, to quell which the authorities were obliged to send to one of the Danish isles for assistance.

In 1856 the negroes of British Guiana plundered and destroyed property to the extent of \$50,000, and on that occasion the superintendent of the Wesleyan Missions thought it his duty to report to the government, upon "the number of abandoned women and nude, half savage children in the riots," and "the absolute necessity of placing the numerous village population under more efficient government."§

Says Governor Light in his despatch to Earl Grey, dated Georgetown, British Guiana, May 3, 1848: "A marked change in the respectful demeanor of the population during the early years of emancipation, particularly in the younger of the creole race, is perceptible. I have even found it necessary, within the last twelve months, to keep a patrol of mounted police on the road usually frequented for rides and drives of exercise by the inhabitants of Georgetown, to check the jeering and impertinent remarks of the loungers in the neighborhood of the town, which have often been levelled at myself."||

In Trinidad, according to a despatch of Lord Harris, dated 6th of October, 1749, there was a riot of the negroes, during which stones were thrown at the governor's carriage, several persons were wounded, and it was requisite to send to Barbadoes for assistance to put down the rioters. "The plan of the evil-disposed was," says the governor, "not to attempt to oppose the government, but to ruin the colony by burning." . . . "But the ultimate and great exciting cause," continues the despatch, "which gives an impetus to all the others, is the desire to get rid of the white man. I say this most emphatically. This was the sentiment with which the mob on Monday last was imbued. To drive out, to exterminate them by continual annoyances and by burning, or, if those means fail, to exterminate them by violence, are the doctrines adopted by the leaders."¶

* Lewis's West Indies, p. 115. † Hist. West Indies, vol. ii., p. 66. ‡ Par. Rep., 1853.

§ British Guiana Correspondence, moved for by Mr. Horsfall, 1856; cited by Mr. Cave.

|| Par. Rep., 1847-48.

¶ Ibid, 1850.

There can be no doubt but that this despatch describes the true state of feeling harbored by the free negroes in many parts of the West Indies. The insurrection which has lately occurred in Antigua, the best of all the islands, is a further proof of it: on this occasion the design was to get possession of the government, and in the event of success, the more violent declared that they intended to follow the example of Nana Sahib.*

These few instances, showing the turbulent character of the black population of the West Indies, have casually fallen under our notice, and we have no doubt that their number might be doubled by a little search; at the time of their occurrence they scarcely attracted attention beyond the limits of the country that gave them birth; but, taken in the aggregate, and viewed in the light of negro history and character, we conceive that they are of the most weighty import: nor is it necessary, in this view of the case, that we should look upon every West Indian broil as a deep-laid plot to exterminate the whites, since experience shows that the most trifling and unforeseen misunderstanding between blacks and whites, while living together in nominal equality, has an immediate tendency to resolve itself into a war of races, just as in yellow fever epidemics all diseases resolve themselves into yellow fever. A mere scratch upon the inflamed skin of a London brewer's carman is often followed by the gravest consequences; and a spark coming in contact with West Indian inflammability is sufficient to make a blaze. The origin of many serious negro riots has been of the most trivial nature, and even in Hayti, so far as the negroes themselves were concerned, the bloody insurrection which gave them possession of the island was not the result of any deep-laid conspiracy of their own.

The neighborhood of this island, and the influence of emigrants from it, is another cause threatening the existing order of things in the English antilles.

In case a general and determined rising of the negroes in Jamaica, for instance, should occur, it is not probable that the British Government would make any very serious efforts to retain this or any other of her negro colonies. Both government and people are tired of negroes, and heartily tired of West Indian affairs. For the last half century their ears have been continually filled with the cry of West Indian philanthropy, West Indian distress, West Indian protection. Perhaps no single subject of the same magnitude has ever occupied one half the time and attention of the ablest of men, and of nations, that has been consumed by these fertile negro colonies. The same talent, power and means, expended upon almost any other object that could be named, must have been attended with tenfold the good re-

* The following paragraph appears in the *London Times* of May 17, 1858:

"The laboring population of Antigua still evinced a spirit of insubordination. The more timid of the inhabitants anticipated a riot at the approaching trials of the prisoners, but as there was a strong military force, consisting of two companies of Her Majesty's 49th Regiment, they would most likely pass off quietly. As many of the more violent among them had expressed a determination, in the event of success, to follow the example of Nana Sahib, some gentlemen had sent the female portion of their families to other islands."

sults we now behold. In the present instance, the fruit of all this half century's labor is *ridiculus mus* ! The Haytian war of independence, carried on against a few hundred thousands of negroes, cost France more men, the flower of her army, too, and practiced in warfare,* than the reconquest by England of a nation of 180,000,000 souls in India ; and there is no doubt but that a guerilla warfare with the negroes of Jamaica, if they were thoroughly in earnest, would be attended with equally bad results. Yellow fever, and a tropical sun, are more fearful enemies than even negro bludgeons ; and the people of England have too many and more important interests to attend to, than foolishly to throw away good men and good money, in order to retain a worthless colony. They are no longer dependent on Jamaica negroes for their sugar. The negroes have abandoned them, and we fancy that they will be ready to abandon the negroes, as soon as those gentlemen are pleased to signify their acquiescence in such a step. It is certain that negro civilization would not be advanced by an event of this kind, and yet its occurrence seems almost inevitable.

But in either case, and after a careful review of the whole matter, and setting aside all considerations of political economy or of pecuniary loss to the whites—in fact ignoring altogether the existence of the white race—we suppose that there is nothing in the past history, the present condition, or the future prospects of the free negroes of the West Indies, that should cause a humane man to desire to see others of that race placed in a similar situation. All the results of *sentimental* philanthropy that we can yet observe in the British West Indies are, that a savage people who, after a terrible initiatory ordeal, were beginning to learn habits of industry which might eventually have elevated them to free men, with free souls, have been thoughtlessly thrust back to idleness and degradation, while another unfortunate race, the coolies, have been seized by ruthless hands, and made to undergo the horrors and mortality of a new slave trade, in order to fill the vacuum created by negro laziness.

Ye who would do unto others as you would have others do unto you, pause before attempting to create similar evils, on a far larger scale !

* The single army of Le Clerc, which numbered twenty-five thousand men, was entirely destroyed.

DEPARTMENT OF COMMERCE.

1.—COMMERCE OF THE UNITED STATES FOR 1859.

THE annual report of commerce and navigation is not yet regularly issued, though we obtain a synopsis of it in a recent official publication. Upon this the United States *Economist* remarks as follows :

The imports for 1858-9 amount to about \$338,000,000, no particulars of which having appeared, we are able to give only the aggregate. The exports amount to about \$356,000,000, including the following details :

Domestic Produce—	1858-9.
Products of Fisheries.....	\$4,462,974
“ Forest.....	15,759,441
“ Agriculture, &c.....	37,987,395
Manufactures.....	30,197,274
“ unclassified.....	2,274,652
Raw produce.....	1,858,205
Cotton.....	161,434,923
Tobacco.....	21,074,038
Rice.....	2,207,148
Brown Sugar.....	106,935
Hemp.....	9,279
Coal.....	653,536
Ice.....	104,581
Foreign produce.....	\$278,392,080
Specie.....	20,000,000
	57,502,305
Total exports.....	\$355,894,385

The following is a statement of the domestic, foreign and specie exports for the years 1855-6, 1856-7, 1857-8, and 1858-9 :

Exports—	1855-6.	1856-7.	1857-8.	1858-9.
Domestic produce.....	\$266,438,051	278,906,713	251,351,033	278,392,080
Foreign produce.....	16,378,578	23,975,617	20,660,241	20,000,000
Specie.....	44,148,279	60,078,352	52,633,147	57,502,305
Total.....	326,964,908	362,960,682	324,644,421	355,894,385

From this comparison it appears that the exports for the past year are slightly in excess of those of 1855-6 and 1857-8, whilst they are about \$7,000,000 below those of 1856-7, owing to the extraordinary shipments of foreign products and specie during the latter period.

The export of domestic products during the year has been in excess over those of last year by about \$27,000,000. The most noticeable items of increase over 1857-8 are—

	Increase.
Fisheries' products.....	\$912,679
Forests' “.....	2,319,770
Manufactures.....	2,427,882
Cotton.....	30,048,262
Tobacco.....	4,064,271

These figures show a very satisfactory increase in the aggregate value of the staple products of the country: they are, however, counterbalanced to a considerable extent by a heavy decrease in the item of agricultural products, which are less than those of 1857-8 by \$14,581,116. This is the result of a concurrence of circumstances opposed to the export of breadstuffs and other agricultural produce—the abundance of foreign harvests in the year 1858, and the light yield of our own.

The increase in the item of cotton is enormous, and judging from this year's receipts up to the present period, as also from Southern estimates, it is probable that next year we may have a large further increase to note. The probability is that the crop of the current year will exceed that of last by 500,000 bales, which at a low estimate as compared with late prices, would amount to \$20,000,000.

thus carrying the exports of the present crop to a value upwards of \$160,000,000. We present herewith a table of exports and imports for the last ten years, which indicates the progress of trade during that period, and the relation that has been sustained between the imports and exports for the several years:

Fiscal Year—	Imports.	Exports.	
1848-49.....	\$147,857,000	145,755,000—Excess of imports over exports.....	\$2,102,000
1849-50.....	178,138,000	151,898,000—“ “ “ “.....	26,240,000
1850-51.....	216,224,000	218,388,000—Excess of exports over imports.....	2,164,000
1851-52.....	212,945,000	209,658,000—Excess of imports over exports.....	3,287,000
1852-53.....	267,978,000	230,976,000—“ “ “ “.....	37,002,000
1853-54.....	304,562,000	278,241,000—“ “ “ “.....	26,321,000
1854-55.....	261,468,000	275,156,000—Excess of exports over imports.....	13,688,000
1855-56.....	314,639,000	326,964,000—“ “ “ “.....	12,325,000
1856-57.....	369,890,000	362,960,000—“ “ “ “.....	6,930,000
1857-58.....	282,613,000	324,644,000—“ “ “ “.....	42,031,000
1858-59.....	338,000,000	355,894,000—“ “ “ “.....	17,894,000

It will be seen that our imports have gradually increased from \$147,857,000 in 1848-9 to \$338,000,000 in 1858-9; showing an aggregate increase during the ten years of \$190,143,000, or 130 per cent., and an average increase per year of about \$19,000,000, or 13 per cent. This fact is worthy the attention of a class of writers who are incessantly crying out against the increasing figures of our imports for the present year, apparently forgetful that the growth of our receipts is nothing new, but has fortunately been the most prominent feature of our national commerce from its earliest infancy.

A similar progress is observable in the exports of the country, which have increased from \$145,755,000 in 1848-9 to \$355,894,000 in 1858-9, being in the ratio of about 187½ per cent. for the ten years.

It is noteworthy that notwithstanding the depressing effects succeeding the panic of 1857, yet both the imports and exports of last year were in excess of all previous years excepting 1856-7, which in both items exceeds all other years.

The balance of imports and exports for 1858-9 shows an excess of the latter over the former amounting to \$17,894,000, which indicates a healthy state of trade, and silences the objections of certain alarmists who have been all along asserting that we are maintaining a ruinous disproportion between these opposite movements of trade.

The amount of specie exported has been larger than during any previous year, except 1856-7, when the export was about \$2,500,000 more than last year. The following table will show the specie export for the last ten years:

Fiscal Years—	Exports of specie.
1848-49.....	\$5,404,048
1849-50.....	7,522,994
1850-51.....	29,472,752
1851-52.....	42,674,135
1852-53.....	27,486,875
1853-54.....	41,436,456
1854-55.....	56,247,543
1855-56.....	44,148,279
1856-57.....	60,078,352
1857-58.....	52,633,147
1858-59.....	57,502,305

Though the figures for last year appear high, yet, compared with the amount of imports, they cannot be said to be in undue proportion; and they certainly give no support to the complaints that have been launched so freely against the outgoings of specie from the country.

Upon the whole, the official exhibit of our national trading shows a healthy condition of business.

2.—COMMERCE NORTH AND SOUTH.

MOVEMENT OF EXPORTS FOR THE LAST FISCAL YEAR.

We have thought it not inappropriate, says the *Washington Constitution*, to give the exports for the last fiscal year, as furnished by the different sections of the Republic, in the hope that our common interest, so signally displayed by these figures, will arrest that aggressive spirit which is hastening all to one undistinguished ruin.

The exports of the last fiscal year, embracing specie and American produce, amounted to \$335,894,385, in addition to which we also exported something over twenty millions of foreign produce, making all our exports above \$356,000,000, and exceeding our imports for the same period a fraction over \$18,000,000.

The specie and American produce exported were.....\$335,894,385
Specie.....57,502,305

The amount of produce consequently exported was.....\$278,392,080

We propose to classify the amount furnished by each section as far as possible, by giving the amount furnished exclusively by the Free States, the amount furnished by both the Free and Slave States, (which it is impossible to separate and designate the respective amount furnished by each,) and the amount furnished exclusively by the Slave States.

Free States exclusively :

Fisheries—embracing spermaceti and whale oils, dried and salt fish..\$4,462,974
Coal.....653,536
Ice.....164,581

Total Free States.....5,281,091

Free and Slave States :

Products of the forest—embracing staves and headings, shingles, boards, plank, and scantling, hewn timber, other timber, oak bark, and other dye, all manufactures of wood, ashes, ginseng, skins and furs.....12,099,967

Product of agriculture :

Of animals—beef, tallow, hides, horned cattle, butter, cheese, pork, hams and bacon, lard, wool, hogs, horses, mules and sheep.....15,549,817

Vegetable food :

Wheat flour, Indian corn, Indian meal, rye meal, rye, oats, and other small grain, and pulse, biscuit, or ship-bread, potatoes, apples, and onions.....22,437,573

Manufactures :

Refined sugar, wax, chocolate, spirits from grain, do. molasses, do. other materials, vinegar, beer, ale, porter and cider, in casks and bottles, linseed oil, household furniture, carriages and parts, railroad cars and parts, hats of fur and silk, do. palm leaf, saddlery, trunks and valises, adamantine and other candles, soap, snuff, tobacco manufactured, gunpowder, leather, boots and shoes, cables and cordage, salt, lead, iron, pig, bar, nails, castings, and all manufactures of copper, brass, and manufactures of, drugs and medicines, cotton piece goods, printed or colored, white or other than duck, and all manufactures of, hemp, thread, bags, cloth, and other manufactures of, wearing apparel, earthen and stoneware, combs and buttons, brooms and brushes of all kinds, billiard-tables and apparatus, umbrellas, parasols and sunshades, morocco and other leather not sold by the pound, fire-engines, printing presses and type, musical instruments, books and maps, paper and stationery, paints and varnish, jewelry, other manufactures of gold and silver, glass, tin, pewter and lead, marble and stone, bricks, lime, and cement, India rubber overshoes and manufactures, lard oils, oil cake, artificial flowers.....30,197,274

Articles not enumerated, manufactured.....2,274,652

Raw produce.....1,858,205

Total Free and Slave States.....84,417,493

Slave States exclusively :

Cotton.....161,434,922

Tobacco.....21,074,038

Resin and Turpentine.....3,554,416

FOREIGN COMMERCE OF NEW-ORLEANS.

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Rice	\$2,207,448
Tar and Pitch	141,058
Brown Sugar	196,935
Molasses	75,699
Hemp	9,279

Total Slave States.....\$188,693,496

RECAPITULATION.

Free States, exclusively	5,281,091
Free and Slave States.....	84,417,493
Slave States exclusively.....	188,693,496
Total	\$278,392,680

If any one will take the trouble to analyze the articles embraced in the amount of \$84,417,493 belonging alike to the labor of the Free and Slave States, he will find that at least one third is as justly the products of slave labor. We have therefore the fact that out of \$278,392,680 of the exports of domestic industry, over \$200,000,000 of this sum is furnished by those States known as Slave States.

3.—FOREIGN COMMERCE OF NEW-ORLEANS.

YEARS.	EXPORTS.			IMPORTS.
	DOMESTIC.	FOREIGN.	TOTAL.	
1821.....	\$6,907,599.....	\$364,573.....	\$7,272,172.....	\$3,379,717
1822.....	7,303,461.....	675,184.....	7,978,645.....	3,817,238
1823.....	6,760,410.....	1,009,662.....	7,779,072.....	4,283,125
1824.....	6,442,946.....	1,485,874.....	7,928,820.....	4,539,769
1825.....	10,965,234.....	1,617,690.....	12,582,924.....	4,290,034
1826.....	9,048,506.....	1,334,874.....	10,383,380.....	4,167,521
1827.....	10,602,832.....	1,126,165.....	11,728,997.....	4,531,645
1828.....	10,163,334.....	1,784,058.....	11,947,400.....	6,217,881
1829.....	10,898,183.....	1,487,877.....	12,386,060.....	6,857,209
1830.....	13,042,740.....	2,445,952.....	15,488,692.....	7,599,083
1831.....	12,835,531.....	3,926,453.....	16,761,989.....	9,766,693
1832.....	14,105,118.....	2,425,812.....	16,530,930.....	8,871,653
1833.....	16,133,457.....	2,807,016.....	18,941,373.....	9,590,505
1834.....	23,759,607.....	2,797,917.....	26,557,524.....	13,781,809
1835.....	31,265,015.....	5,005,808.....	36,270,823.....	17,519,814
1836.....	32,226,565.....	4,953,263.....	37,179,818.....	15,117,649
1837.....	31,546,275.....	3,792,422.....	35,338,697.....	14,029,912
1838.....	30,077,534.....	1,424,714.....	31,502,248.....	9,496,808
1839.....	30,995,930.....	2,188,211.....	33,184,167.....	12,864,942
1840.....	32,898,050.....	1,338,877.....	34,236,926.....	10,677,190
1841.....	32,865,618.....	1,521,865.....	34,387,483.....	10,256,350
1842.....	27,427,422.....	976,727.....	28,404,149.....	8,033,591
1850.....	57,698,277.....	407,073.....	58,105,350.....	10,760,499
1851.....	58,968,013.....	445,940.....	59,413,953.....	12,528,460
1852.....	48,076,197.....	250,716.....	48,326,913.....	12,800,000
1853.....	67,768,726.....	523,934.....	68,292,660.....	13,654,113
1854.....	60,656,785.....	275,345.....	60,932,130.....	14,402,150
1855.....	55,088,827.....	318,884.....	55,407,711.....	12,923,608
1856.....	80,197,988.....	349,275.....	80,547,263.....	17,183,327
1857.....	90,016,289.....	597,597.....	90,613,886.....	24,981,150
1858.....	88,070,134.....	312,304.....	88,382,438.....	19,586,013
1859.....	100,884,635.....	750,279.....	101,634,912.....	18,349,616

4.—QUOTATIONS

Of the Principal Securities in the New-Orleans Stock and Bond Market, at the close of the months of Jan., April, Aug., and Nov., taken from the N. O. Delta.

	JANUARY.	APRIL.	AUGUST.	NOVEMBER.
Canal Bank, \$100 paid.....	128 a —	135 a —	128 a 129	133½ a 139
Bank of Louisiana, \$100 paid.....	105 a —	172 a —	167 a 168	185 a 186
Louisiana State Bank, \$100 paid.....	175 a —	176½ a 177	173 a 175	190 a 191
Mechanics' and Traders' Bank, \$100 paid.....	102 a —	— a 105½	102 a 103	104½ a 105
Citizens' Bank, \$100 paid.....	207½ a —	225 a —	235½ a 237	240 a 241
Bank of New-Orleans, \$100 paid.....	101 a 101½	— a 105½	101 a 102	104 a 105
Southern Bank, \$100 paid.....	103 a 103½	110 a —	107 a 108	107 a 108
New Bank, \$100 paid.....	100 a —	104 a 104½	101 a 101½	103 a 103½
Crescent City Bank, \$100 paid.....	102½ a 103	— a 105½	101 a 101½	103 a 103½
Merchants' Bank, \$100 paid.....	100 a —	105 a 105½	100 a 100½	102 a 103
Bank of America, \$100 paid.....	104 a 105	125 a —	123½ a 125	137 a 138
Commercial Water Works, \$100 paid.....	55 a 56	55 a 56	55 a —	62½ a 63
St. Charles Hotel, \$25 paid.....	11½ a 12	14 a 15	15 a 16	15 a 16
Pontchartrain Railroad, \$100 paid.....	75 a 76	78 a 80	— a 80	— a 80
New-Orleans Sixes, \$1,000 bonds.....	88 a 90	85 a 95½	92 a 93	92 a 93
New-Orleans Railroad Bonds.....	83 a —	86½ a 87	84 a 85	87 a 88
Jackson Railroad Bonds, 8 per cent.....	74 a —	83 a 84	81 a 82	85 a 86
Tehuantepec Bonds, 8 per cent.....	55 a 56	50 a 51	— a —	— a —
Jackson Railroad, \$25 paid.....	10 a 10½	8½ a —	7½ a —	12½ a —
Opelousas Railroad, \$25 paid.....	8 a —	5½ a —	5½ a —	6½ a —
Orleans Insurance Co., \$100 paid.....	250 a —	145 a 150	165 a 166	165 a 166
Gas Light Co., \$100 paid.....	134 a —	153 a —	150 a 151	158 a 159
N. O. and W. Telegraph Co., \$50 paid.....	15 a —	20 a 21	20 a 21	20 a 21
Pelican Dry Dock Co., \$100 paid.....	54 a 55	54 a 55	54 a 55	54 a 55
Carrollton Railroad Co.....	38 a 39	38 a 39	38 a 39	38 a 39
Louisiana State Sixes.....	95 a 96	97½ a 98½	97½ a 98½	96½ a 97
Leverie Steam Cotton Press.....	88 a 90	100 a —	100 a —	115 a 116
Star Insurance Co., \$100 paid.....	103½ a 105	115 a 116	115 a 116	108 a 109
Union Insurance Co., \$20 paid.....	47½ a 50	60 a —	52½ a 55	52½ a 55

5.—STEAM NAVIGATION—THE WINANS STEAMER.

The Norfolk *Argus* gives a very interesting account of a decisive trial of the famous Winans' steamer as a thorough sea-going vessel, which we subjoin :

"We are highly gratified to announce that a thorough trial of the Winans steamer on Thursday, during a gale of wind in a very heavy sea, indeed in weather exactly suited to test her qualities, proved to the entire satisfaction of the owners and others, that she is not only admirably adapted to ocean voyages, but that, in a rough sea she is the swiftest steamer afloat. The experiment is therefore successful ; the invention, with the plan of construction, a scientific triumph. While out at sea, the roll of the waves was very heavy and irregular, but strange to say, no wave washed entirely over her, and she plunged on steadily and swiftly, like some new-created sea-monster, fearless of wind or wave. She proceeded sufficiently far to experience the roughest of the sea, and it is very remarkable that, while other vessels careened and pitched furiously, the Winans did not roll more than ten degrees, or pitch more than three. It was decidedly uncomfortable on board the steamer *Young America*, her upper works sometimes being under water ; and yet those on board the Winans were undisturbed by her motion. Her average speed at sea was fifteen miles per hour. A number of persons were on board who were unaccustomed to the sea, but none were at all sea-sick. Her speed was not at all impeded by the roughness of the sea ; the motion of her engines was as regular as in smooth water, and there were no shocks, such as are felt on board all other vessels, when running in a heavy head sea."

The Norfolk *Day-Book* states that Mr. Thomas Winans had this steamer out for about two hours, with about 70 ladies and 46 gentlemen on board, and adds :

"A more joyous and happy company than this never left our wharves ; and as the steamer sped through the harbor with her precious freight, the continual waving of handkerchiefs on shore and on board, indicated the general feeling

that prevailed. The guests were entertained in a manner creditable to their distinguished host, and after a run of about two hours, the party were returned to the city.

"We have conversed with a number of gentlemen whose experience at sea would entitle their opinion to the respect and confidence of the community; and who witnessed her performance at sea during the gale of Thursday last, when they had an opportunity of observing her movements, and comparing her with other vessels of the same and larger dimensions; and she is pronounced by them to be the steadiest vessel they ever saw in a heavy gale. She was run head to, and in the trough of the sea, by and before the wind; and under all courses, she seemed to be almost as steady as any other vessel running in smooth water. In running head to the sea, her speed did not seem to be diminished; and, contrary to the expectations of all, she was buoyant as any vessel that was ever put to sea.

"In fact, those who saw her during the trial trip have no hesitation in pronouncing her the wonder of the age, and that in her the Messrs. Winans have achieved a triumph which will mark a new era in steam navigation, not only in their entire departure from the rules of modern naval architecture, but in their application of power, which is destined, at no distant period, to be extensively used."

6.—SOUTHERN COMMERCE.

One of the most gratifying signs of the times is to be discovered in the recent action of Virginia in relation to her home trade. The Old Dominion seems to be truly aroused by the Harper's Ferry affair; and when she is found in the foremost ranks of the South leading her neighbors on, there can be little to fear for the results. The merchants of Richmond, reflecting the feeling of the State, adopted, a short time since, the following resolutions:

"Whereas, in the opinion of this meeting, the time has arrived when the merchants of this city should, as far as practicable, become their own importers; and that those now engaged in the importation of foreign goods, should unite together for the purpose of direct trade; and, *whereas*, it is known that a large portion of the goods *now* imported by our merchants are landed at some of the Northern ports; and feeling that in order to effect this change it is necessary to act in concert; therefore,

"1. *Resolved*, That in future, so far as our capital and facilities will enable us to do so, we will import our own goods of foreign growth or manufacture direct to this port.

"2. *Resolved*, That those of us, who now have orders in the hands of agents or manufacturers, awaiting execution for the spring trade, pledge ourselves to use our best efforts to have the goods shipped to James River, even at an advanced rate of freight, and that from and after the 1st day of January next, we bind ourselves not to give an order for foreign goods to any party without an understanding that such goods shall be shipped to James River when practicable; and, furthermore, in order to facilitate the object we have in view, we hereby pledge ourselves to unite upon some one or more responsible shipping agents at Liverpool.

"3. *Resolved*, That a committee of three be appointed to draft an agreement in accordance with the above resolutions, and procure the signature of every merchant in this city, engaged in the importation of foreign merchandise, and that said paper be deposited with the secretary of the Board of Trade of this city.

"After some discussion the preamble and resolutions were adopted with great unanimity.

"The Chair appointed Messrs. George J. Sumner, Andrew L. Ellett, and John Purcell, the committee under the third resolution.

"Wm. G. Paine, Esq., offered the following:

"*Resolved*, That a committee of three be appointed to make inquiries and report upon the propriety and practicability of establishing a line of packets between Richmond and Liverpool.

"This was adopted with equal unanimity; and the Chairman announced Messrs. Wm. G. Paine, E. W. DeVoss, and Thomas McCance."

7.—COMMERCE OF ST. LOUIS.

During the year 1859, the receipts of flour at St. Louis reached, in the aggregate, 1,363,081 barrels. As compared with previous years :

	Receipts.	Manufactured.	Total.
1859	489,635	873,446	1,363,081
1858	706,025	815,814	1,521,839
1857	557,646	663,509	1,221,155
1856	484,109	648,188	1,132,297
1855	426,721	589,958	1,016,679

Wheat—receipts, 1859	3,684,868 bushels.
“ “ 1858	3,377,400 “
“ “ 1856	4,066,070 “
“ “ 1855	3,921,642 “
Corn— “ 1859	1,612,267 “
“ “ 1857	2,766,062 “
“ “ 1855	2,980,295 “

The aggregate receipts of whisky were 112,712 barrels in 1859, and 132,544 in 1858.

The receipts of provisions and lard in the past four years were as follows :

	1859.	1858.	1857.	1856.
Beef, tierces	678	1,810	177	219
“ barrels	5,113	9,998	8,134	1,234
Pork, casks and tierces	12,853	8,635	9,963	14,570
“ barrels	102,641	125,385	109,215	96,504
“ boxes	747	19	1,017	2,983
“ pieces	845,273	631,752	590,772	848,229
Bacon, casks	7,473	18,387	14,156	23,072
“ barrels and boxes	5,391	5,780	680	2,917
“ pieces	14,361	44,210	8,153	36,793
Lard, tierces	29,680	29,568	29,868	37,872
“ barrels	21,842	36,674	29,674	51,544
“ kegs	9,367	14,715	10,155	17,692

Remarking upon the trade of the past year, the *Merchants' Exchange Prices Current* says :

“The produce trade for the year past has, in the main, been characterized by quietness and regularity, and our statistics show an increase in value over any former year. Nothing but extreme drought, or blighted crops, can prevent the increase of business in this department from year to year, so long as the cultivation of the fertile soil of the West is extended millions of acres annually. With a slight exception or two, speculative excitement has had no sway. When war in Europe was positively declared, the markets of England and the Continent became unsettled, and under the expectation that heavy orders would be drawn upon this country for provisions and breadstuffs, holders refused to sell except at a considerable advance, and heavy transactions in flour and pork were consummated at high figures. The fever, however, ran but a few days, when trade returned to its regular channels. Throughout the season grain producers have been looking forward to a decided improvement in the home markets, and have consequently exhibited an indisposition to part with their surplus till such time as a favorable turn should enable them to realize their expectations. Supplies, therefore, have at no time exceeded the demand to a great extent, and the result has been as we before remarked, a season of unusual quietness and regularity in the traffic of agricultural products.

“Receipts as compared with the last year have fallen off in but few articles, while in the majority there is a large excess. There is a deficit in hemp, hog meats, oats and whisky, but the difference is more than made up in the augmentation of prices. The increase in receipts of all descriptions of grain, excepting oats, of tobacco, iron, hides, hay, beans, groceries, and numerous other articles, with their values calculated at the improved prices which have ruled

in most instances, will show a business the past year enlarged, it is safe to say, millions of dollars. Stocks are unusually light to go over into the new year, most leading articles having been marketed exceedingly close, or taken up entirely.

"The money market has had its fluctuations, and for the last half of the year has been set down by financiers as unmitigatingly stringent. The curtailment of shipments of produce to Eastern markets, has drawn from this section large amounts of coin, and caused a dearth in the line of exchanges, which have consequently ruled at high rates. The banks discount freely when they have the ability, but act with extreme caution in the matter of circulation, as their promises to pay in specie are liable to be presented at any time for liquidation. Latterly a large amount of money has been required for the purchase of hogs from the country, and the line of bankable funds and the floating currency from other States has been reduced to small dimensions, but it will return ere long to take the place of 'bills receivable,' now slumbering in the strong box of the wholesale merchant.

"The gold mines of Western Kansas are beginning to yield satisfactorily, and by another season heavy shipments may be expected, to be returned in the shape of merchandise, agricultural implements, machinery, provisions, live stock, and the thousand articles necessary to a thriving pioneer population.

"For the future we note highly favorable prospects. It is probable that by the opening of navigation there will be a demand for breadstuffs, and as the wheat crop of the North is short, good prices may be looked for. It is ascertained that the crops of England, France, and Spain, will fall short of estimates formed early in the season, and the export trade to those countries has improved materially the last two months. Moreover, large instalments of Eastern capital will soon change places with the crops of the West, or will be seeking investment in the rich iron, copper, and lead mines of our State, imparting activity to all branches of business, and giving a fresh impetus to enterprises that are destined to make St. Louis the first city of the Union."

8.—COMMERCE OF MOBILE, 1859.

"We regret that the publication of these statistics has been delayed by us. They are taken from the *Merchants' Exchange Prices Current* of that city, and are valuable for reference and comparison with those of other years and cities.

The total foreign imports of Mobile, for 1858, was \$634,626, and for the first six months of 1859, \$549,110. The total domestic produce exported to foreign countries was in amount:

1858	\$23,553,736
First six months.....1859	17,287,103

Entries and Clearances from the port of Mobile, (exclusive of steamers and other craft navigating the rivers and bay) for the year ending June 30th, 1859.

CHARACTER.	ENTRIES.			CLEARANCES.		
	No. Vessels.	Tonnage.	No. Crew.	No. Vessels.	Tonnage.	No. Crew.
American	112	77,478	1,826	219	147,556	3,592
Foreign	77	56,493	1,636	75	57,574	1,635
Coa-wise	593	282,927	9,886	248	87,191	2,511
Total	782	416,898	13,348	542	292,321	7,738

The large difference which appears between the number of coastwise vessels entered and cleared, is owing to the fact that all mail line steamers and schooners from New-Orleans enter at customhouse and in no instance clear in return.

Imports of some of the leading articles of Western Produce, Groceries, &c., at Mobile.

ARTICLES.	1859.		1858.	
	Stocks.	Receipts.	Stocks.	Receipts.
Bagging.....pieces.	6385	16049	5858	18853
Bagging—India.....bales.	500	6711	565	5875
Rope.....coils.	9615	42638	8930	37607
Bacon.....hbds.	347	18004	601	7430
Hams.....tierces.	162	5799	210	3037
Beef.....bbis.	246	2988	190	1837
Coffee.....bags.	1777	38335	3500	23877
Cotton—Ala. and Miss.....bales.	20051	690864	10673	523049
Florida.....bales.		860		0
La. and Texas.....bales.				472
Flour.....bbis.	2705	78479	2445	76714
Alabama.....s'ks.		1780		2788
Corn—Country.....s'ks.	1200	59454	3850	45250
Country, ears.....bbis.		13403		56430
Western.....sacks.	3180	43111	1540	62242
Oats.....sacks.	6012	40258	5900	44912
Hay.....bales.	735	25176	4690	23700
Fodder.....bales.	80	177	200	1111
Lard.....bbis.	94	1865	90	2828
".....kegs.	440	10144	650	8749
Cheese.....boxes.	20	13750		15317
Butter.....kegs.	200	3851	98	5501
Candles.....boxes.	2060	19840	3436	16674
Cement.....bbis.	1350	10886	1200	12000
Lime—Alabama.....bbis.	3500	21211	4200	20853
Northern.....bbis.	200	3014	1300	9432
Staves.....M.	40	452	20	385
Molasses.....bbis.	255	29107	696	40488
Potatoes.....bbis.	350	25632	110	30779
".....sacks.		303		1379
Pork.....bbis.	1850	29325	922	27050
Rice.....tierces.	110	2289	102	2088
Sugar.....hbds.	560	8459	230	8525
".....bbis.	750	2033	528	5564
Salt.....sacks.	21710	196746	16221	116227
Whisky.....bbis.	4890	34812	3050	25679
Hides.....bales.		2766		898
Bran.....sacks.	1600	19732	4720	38199
Leather.....rolls.		431		514
Wool.....bales.	20	671		560
Gunny Bags.....bales.	112	6228	155	126
Soap.....boxes.	1350	3474	200	8870
Tobacco.....boxes.	1875	10565	664	16912
Codfish.....boxes.		201	1	2928
Mackerel.....bbis.	63	1741		5287
Plaister.....bbis.	330	1686	659	3489
Lard Oil.....bbis.	106	3122		2234
Coal—Alabama.....tons.	75	475		886
Foreign.....tons.		2124	450	1760
Pennsylvania.....tons.	1945	3595	500	2141
Western.....tons.	350	787		

Exports of Masts, Spars, &c., from Mobile, for year ending 31st August, 1859.

Where Exported.	Masts, Spars.		Staves.	Sawed Lumber.		Other Tbr.	Total Value.
	No.	Value.		Feet.	Value.		
England.....	115	\$7,693	\$6406	38,157	\$572	\$3,619	\$18,290
France.....	120	10,850	2371			2,259	15,410
Spain.....			1924				1,924
Cuba.....	23	1,015		6,476,830	74,972		75,967
Honduras.....				99,124	1,290	524	1,814
Mexico.....				83,159	1,318		1,318
Brazil.....				77,940	5,906		5,906
Ireland.....	15	1,359				13,700	15,059
St. Thomas.....				87,856	1,189		1,189
Total.....	273	\$20,917	\$10,691	7,202,366	\$85,247	\$20,132	\$136,897

Export of Cotton from Mobile to Foreign Ports for two years.

Where Exported.	Year ending 31st August, 1859.			Year ending 31st August, 1858.		
	Bales.	Pounds.	Value.	Bales.	Pounds.	Value.
To Great Britain—In American Vessels	247436	128692188	\$14939552	188120	97508805	\$10789797
In British Vessels..	105545	54634863	6876662	76823	38641015	4247635
In Swedish Vessels.	.....	.....	.....	700	364015	40264
Total to Great Britain.....	352981	183327051	\$21816214	265643	36513838	15077696
To France—In American Vessels.....	105782	55861387	6393042	89689	46555080	5137902
To Spain—In Spanish Vessels.....	7798	3814459	503287	2800	1372373	164924
To Russia.....	16551	8557656	1060556	10909	5752860	704014
To Holland.....	1802	946424	110787	1358	72244	91735
To Belgium.....	6904	3569298	410497	.....	.....	.....
To Hamburg and Bremen.....	9632	4952272	563470	6047	3194540	389065
To Sardinia and Denmark.....	.....	.....	.....	282	143584	14380
To Sweden.....	4668	2472270	286546	3150	1634490	174652
To Trieste and Genoa.....	8834	4565864	239436	7137	3683344	406841
Total to other Foreign Ports....	48391	25023784	2971292	28883	15133982	1774687
Grand Total.....	514952	26802661	\$31683835	387015	199575273	\$22155219

RECAPITULATION.

To Great Britain.....	352981	183327051	\$21816214	265643	36513838	\$15077696
To France.....	102435	54142311	6186964	89689	46555080	5137902
To Spain.....	7798	3814459	503287	2800	1372373	164924
To other Foreign Ports.....	48349	26023784	2971292	2883	15183982	1774687
Total.....	514952	26802661	\$31683835	387015	199575273	\$22155219

9.—WHAT WE PAY NEW-ENGLAND TO SUPPORT HER JOHN BROWNS.

The Boston *Post* estimates that New-England sells annually to the South \$60,000,000 of merchandize.

Think of it; we give this people \$20,000,000 to \$30,000,000 for the article of shoes and boots alone, which we might so easily manufacture ourselves! Here, at least, is a salient point, and why do we hesitate to strike? Every Southern State can, at least, manufacture its negro shoes, and let us begin at once this sacred duty. We give the language of the *Post*, as follows:

"Let us enumerate the principal articles that New-England sells to her Southern neighbors. We mention them very nearly in the order of their relative importance—we mean in the amount of sales. The articles are boots and shoes, and other articles manufactured from leather, such as harness, saddles, etc.; the products of our cotton and woollen manufactories; imported cottons, woollens, linens and silks; ready made clothing; various kinds of dry, pickled, smoked and other fish; whale oil; furniture of all kinds; law, school and other books and periodicals; hardware, woodenware, pianos, and other musical instruments; agricultural instruments of the various kinds; jewelry, silver and plated ware; coaches, hacks and other carriages; hats, caps, military and Indian rubber goods; stoves, furnaces, grates, etc.; manufactures of lead and zinc; crockery and glassware in quantities more than of some preceding articles; carpets, clocks, ice, granite, fruit, and, indeed, something of almost everything that is manufactured in New-England, including medicines, powder, together with drugs and other articles imported from India.

"The aggregate value of all the merchandise sold to the South annually we estimate at some \$60,000,000. The basis of the estimate is, first, the estimated amount of boots and shoes sold, which intelligent merchants place at from \$20,000,000 to \$30,000,000, including a limited amount that are manufactured with us and sold in New-York. In the next place, we know from merchants in the trade, that the amount of dry goods sold South yearly is many millions of dollars, and that the amount is second only to that of the sales of boots and shoes. In the third place, we learn from careful inquiry, and from the best sources, that the fish, of various kinds, sold, realize \$3,000,000, or in that neighborhood. Upward of \$1,000,000 is received for furniture sold in the South each year. The Southern States are a much better market than the Western for this article.

"It is true, since the establishment of branch houses in New-York, Philadelphia and other cities, many of the goods manufactured in New-England have reached the South through those houses; but it is still the commerce of New-England with the South, and the particular section of the country receives the main advantage of that commerce.

"And what shall we say of New-England ship building, that is so greatly sustained by Southern wants? What shall we say of that large ocean fleet that by being the common carriers of the South have brought so large an amount of money into the pockets of our merchants? We will not undertake to estimate the value of these interests, supported directly by the South. If many persons have not become very rich by them, a very large number have either found themselves well to do, or else have gained a living.

"Now, what does New-England buy of the South to keep her cotton and woollen mills in operation—to supply her lack of corn and flour, to furnish her with sugar, rice, tobacco, lumber, &c.? Boston alone received from the slave States in 1859 cotton valued at \$22,000,000; wool, worth \$1,000,000; hides, valued at \$1,000,000; lumber, \$1,000,000; flour, \$2,500,000; corn, \$1,200,000; rice, \$500,000; tobacco estimated at \$2,000,000. We thus have \$31,200,000 in value, only considering eight articles of consumption. Nor have we reckoned the large amounts of portions, or all of these articles that arrive at Providence, New-Haven, Hartford, Portland, and other places. Nor have we reckoned the value of other articles that arrive at Boston, very considerable though it be, such as molasses, naval stores, beef, pork, lard, and other animal produce; hemp; early vegetables; oysters and other shell fish; game, peaches, &c. May we not estimate then, with good reason, that New-England buys of the South her raw materials and other products to the amount of some \$50,000,000 annually?

"In 1858, about one third of all the flour sold in Boston was received from the commercial ports of the Southern States, and in the same year seven twelfths of all the corn sold in this city, was received direct from the States of Delaware, Maryland and Virginia. The value of the product of sugar and molasses, principally produced in Louisiana in 1858, was about \$33,000,000, and although but a small portion of it came to New-England, nearly one half the crop is consumed in the Northern States, reaching the points of consumption by the Mississippi river."

DEPARTMENT OF INTERNAL IMPROVEMENTS.

1.—STATE AID TO RAILROADS.

REPORT OF T. BUTLER KING TO THE LEGISLATURE OF GEORGIA.

The governor introduced this most important subject by saying: "In my annual message to the last legislature, I gave it as my opinion that it would be good policy for the State to lend her credit to aid in the construction of such other railroads as may be necessary to the more full development of her vast resources, *provided* she be made perfectly secure, beyond doubt, against ultimate loss. I still entertain the same opinion." This opinion went before the people

of Georgia, has been maturely considered by them, and they have given the best evidence in their power of approval of it, in his re-election by much the largest majority of suffrages that ever elevated a citizen of this State to the executive chair. This decided expression of the popular will must be as gratifying to his excellency as it is sure to place him in the front rank of the friends of progress.

It may be contended by those opposed to this policy, that it was not the ruling question in the canvass, yet it must, in the opinion of the undersigned, be admitted, that it was of sufficient importance to have had a very decided influence in his renomination and election, and that his triumphant success is conclusive evidence that his opinions are approved by the great mass of the people.

This policy, if adopted by the legislature, will inaugurate a system of improvement and material progress for Georgia far superior in the wisdom of its provisions and limitations to any heretofore adopted by either of her sister States; and while it will give suitable encouragement and aid to great and important works, will hold out no temptation to those who would recklessly embark in unprofitable undertakings. It will accord with the prudent and enlightened views of the people, and awaken a spirit of enterprise which must soon elevate our noble State to the real and unquestionable rank of "Empire State of the South."

When a State is about to adopt a system for the development of her resources, to increase her wealth and power, either by the expenditure of her own means, or by encouragement and aid to her citizens, it is prudent and proper to take a view of her geographical position with respect to communication and intercourse with adjoining States, and her connection with the commerce of the world, both domestic and foreign.

The reckless extravagance with which many of the interior States of the Union have entered on a system of railway improvements, and an unguarded issue of State credits, has been caused by a total neglect or disregard of these most important considerations. Any State about to engage in such a system should exercise the caution and sagacity to first consider well the amount of the proposed cost or risk, and the certain and probable profits.

Second, the pecuniary strength to be realized in the increased value of the taxable property of her citizens, and the augmentation of the political power to be acquired by it. For although the latter objects are of vital importance in the estimation of every statesman; they are not commonly regarded in time of peace, as the leading or governing motive in risks or investments of that nature. To estimate clearly the great natural advantages and commercial position of Georgia, it will be necessary to compare them with those of her great Northern sister States, on the Atlantic border, and to show, that with one twentieth part of the expenditure, that has been made by those States, or in fact by simply lending her credit, as proposed in the message, she may soon rival them in wealth and commerce.

GEORGIA RAILROAD SYSTEM.

The sea-coast of the United States, from St. Mary's in Georgia, to Eastport in Maine, has an almost due northeast direction. The former being situated on the eighty-second, and the latter on the sixty-seventh degree of longitude, west from Greenwich, or in other words, Eastport is near 800 miles, Boston about 660, and New-York 500 miles east of St. Mary's. New-Orleans and St. Louis are very near the nineteenth degree of longitude, showing that the coast of Georgia is about five hundred miles nearer to the general course of the Mississippi river than New-York, and near seven hundred nearer than Boston. It is further from New-York to St. Louis by railway, than it will be, when the roads now in progress shall be completed, from our coast to the very centre of the rich cotton producing regions of Texas. It has been found quite practicable to transport produce from Missouri and Iowa to New-York, and merchandise from that city, to those States by railroad, and it therefore must be regarded as equally practicable to bring the cotton of Texas, and the intermediate States of Louisiana, Mississippi and Alabama to our ports by a similar mode of conveyance. St. Louis is one hundred and fifty miles nearer to Savannah than it is to New-York on a right line, and by railroad the difference of distance will be more than two hundred miles. The distance from Memphis to Savannah is 701 miles by railroad. and from Vicksburg it will be about 622 miles.

The Baltimore and Ohio Railroad Company, not long since, transported coal for one cent a ton per mile; at that rate, bales of cotton weighing 500 lbs. each, of four to the ton, could be delivered from Memphis at Savannah at \$1 75 per bale. But, if we adopt the rates charged on the New-York railroads, for mixed freights two cents per ton, per mile, it would cost \$14 02 to transport a ton—four bales—from Memphis to Savannah, or \$3 50 per bale. The *Memphis Bulletin* publishes a statement, showing that cotton may be sent from that place to New-York, by way of St. Louis, for \$4 87½ per bale, and that to send by way of New-Orleans it costs \$5 62½. Showing a difference in favor of the St. Louis route of 75 cents per bale.

These figures show that if our railroad system were extended by the construction of new lines, so as to reduce the present exorbitant charges on freight and facilitate transportation, cotton could be brought from Memphis to the ports of Georgia for \$1 75 per bale less than it can be carried from that place to New-York by way of St. Louis, and \$2 50 less than by way of New-Orleans. Assuming the distance from Vicksburg to be 622 miles, and adopting the New-York rates for mixed freights, the highest at two cents per ton per mile, we see that cotton can be transported from that place to Savannah for \$3 11 per bale of 500 pounds.

The speed of freight trains on railroads ought to be twelve miles an hour, which would deliver freight from Memphis at Savannah or Brunswick in fifty-two hours. The passage of steamers from Memphis to New-Orleans is from three to four days. At the ports of Georgia, cotton will be from ten to twenty days nearer the Northern and European markets than in New-Orleans; and in addition to that saving of time, the costs and charges of receiving, storage, commissions, insurance and freight are much lower at Savannah than at New-Orleans, and that difference will more than pay the freight from the Mississippi to our ports. In consequence of the Northern course of the Gulf stream, and the dangerous passage South, round the capes and keys of Florida, sailing vessels, bound to the Gulf ports from Europe or the North, are compelled to go into the Caribbean sea, east of Cuba, and pass round the west end of that island into the Gulf of Mexico. This circuitous passage requires about thirty-five days from New-York to New-Orleans, and retards very much the transmission of merchandise for the supply of the Western markets.

The ordinary voyage from New-York to the coast of Georgia is five days; therefore, merchandise destined for the States West of her would, if sent in sailing vessels to the ports of Georgia, reach their destination within eight or ten days, and if sent in steamers, in about six days—thus saving from twenty-five to thirty days.

This saving of time is the very soul of commerce. The law of trade is, that what one merchant can do with *certainty*, *celerity*, and *profit*, all others in the same pursuit must do to compete successfully with him. It is, therefore, quite certain that all the merchandise destined to supply the States west of us must come to our ports and pay freight on our railroads; and it is equally certain that the cotton will come from the West to meet the ships. The laws of trade operate with as much certainty as the laws of gravitation.

On the completion of the Memphis and Charleston Railroad, it was supposed that cotton would be *immediately* sent from the former to the latter city; and, because it was not, the argument has been raised that it will not, under any circumstances, or at any time, be sent for shipment from the Mississippi to our Atlantic ports. The reasons why the expected result did not follow the completion of that work are very obvious. First, the Mississippi cottons bear higher prices in New-Orleans than uplands do in our Atlantic markets. Second, the road is but a single track, prices of freight too high, and the delays in transportation too great, to encourage any change in the direction of that branch of commerce. When several competing lines of railroad shall have been completed to the Mississippi river, affording, from several points, cheap and rapid transportation to our seaports, cotton will be purchased at those places, and sent through to them for shipment, as it is now purchased in and sent forward from our interior towns and cities.

Another reason was, that the producers of inferior cotton in North Alabama

and Tennessee could, by sending their crops to New-Orleans, pass them off Mississippi cottons, at better prices than could be obtained in Charleston or Savannah. When cheap and rapid communication by railroad shall have been perfectly established, produce will follow those channels to market as surely as water flows where the declivity is greatest.

To make money is the great object of all commercial transactions, and a *saving* of one dollar per bale would be sufficient to change its direction to market.

The cost of freight and insurance from Savannah to Liverpool is \$2 15 less than from New-Orleans to Liverpool; and the charges for receiving, storing, commissions, forwarding, etc. etc., in New-Orleans, are about \$2 25 per bale more than they are in Savannah, making \$4 40 per bale; and the freight from Vicksburg to New-Orleans, 50 cents, and we have \$4 90 per bale in favor of shipments from Savannah, which must decide the movement in favor of that port.

It now remains to be shown what States this movement will embrace, and the amount of trade and traffic it will control.

The States of Alabama, Mississippi, Louisiana, Texas, Arkansas, and Tennessee, contain an area of 625,974 square miles, and in 1850 produced 1,544,690 bales of cotton. They now, probably, produce more than 2,600,000. The crop of Texas has increased since that time from 57,556 to more than 250,000, and her soil is capable of producing at least two millions of bales. The alluvial soil of the valley of the Mississippi river, lying within the States of Louisiana, Arkansas, Tennessee, and Mississippi, is estimated to be capable of producing more than four millions of bales; and the product will increase from what it now is as fast as the consumption may demand it.

Therefore, it is reasonable to suppose that within a period of twenty-five years hence, these States will produce at least four million bales of cotton, which, at ten cents per pound, or fifty dollars per bale, will be worth two hundred million dollars; and there cannot be a doubt on the mind of any reasonable man, who will take a proper view of the geographical position of Georgia, that she may, by the adoption of the policy recommended in the message, attract to her own seaports more than one half of this vast product; that she will become one of the largest exporting and importing States of the Union, and that her railroads will be the channels of traffic between the great cotton-producing States and the commercial world.

EXPERIENCE OF THE SEVERAL STATES.

The State of New-York was the first, among the States of the Union, to commence a system of internal improvement, to develop her own resources, and attract to her seaport the trade of the Northwestern States. It is proper, therefore, to see what was her own condition with respect to population, and the value of her taxable property, when she began those works which have so vastly augmented her wealth, prosperity, and power. At the time she commenced the Erie Canal, the number of her inhabitants was not much larger than that of this State at the present time, and when that work was completed in the year 1825, the taxable value of her property amounted to but \$312,256,257; not much more than one half the value of the taxable property of Georgia at this time. The great object of that work was to draw the trade of the Northwestern States and territories to New-York. Those States were Ohio, Indiana, Michigan, Illinois, Wisconsin, and Iowa. They embrace an area of 391,363 square miles, and had, at that time, a population of 1,121,372. Their exports consisted chiefly of wheat and flour. New-York has continued to pursue this system until she has expended on canals, of her own means, \$54,054,601 02. The State and her citizens have expended on railroads \$132,753,160 34, making an aggregate expenditure of \$186,807,761 36.

This vast sum has been employed to develop her own resources, and to compete with her sister States, Massachusetts and Pennsylvania, for the commerce and traffic of the States lying west of her. The canal and railroad system of Pennsylvania has cost over one hundred millions of dollars, about forty-seven millions of which the State expended of her own means. A very large proportion of this was used in extending her lines of improvement west for the purpose of competing with New-York for the trade of that region. Massachusetts next

entered the field of competition, and with a population about equal to that of Georgia, and a territory not one eighth as large, she has expended on her railroads \$64,805,018. Her railroads have cost over \$43,000 per mile, and yet they pay an average dividend of six per cent.

Those three States have expended on canals and railroads more than three hundred and seventy millions, a very large proportion of which was applied to works designed to attract the trade of the northwest to their seaports; a trade which never can equal in value that of the cotton States, which will seek a market over the railroads of Georgia, if the policy proposed be adopted, without drawing one dollar from her treasury.

For the purpose of presenting a clear view of the effect of improvements in the State of New-York, on her wealth and power, it is only necessary to point to her 3,500,000 people, and to the taxable value of her property, amounting to \$1,404,907,679, and then to consider what would have been her condition if she had remained inactive, and allowed Massachusetts and Pennsylvania to perfect their system of canals and railways without competition. Is it not evident, that, instead of being the first and most powerful State in the Union, she would at this hour only occupy the third or fourth rank?

The geographical position of Georgia is far more commanding than that of New-York, and if she is true to herself, and now moves in earnest to the adoption of a wise system, she may realize results more certain and astonishing, than those which have elevated her great Northern sister to one of the first positions in the commercial world. In all the States of the Union, where railroads have been constructed, the value of property, and the population, have vastly increased, and all pursuits have become more profitable.

The value of property in the State of New-York has more than doubled in ten years, since the completion of her railroads; in 1849, it amounted to \$665,850,737; in 1859 it was \$1,404,907,679. In the State of Ohio a similar result has followed the construction of her railways; the value of her taxable property, in 1850, was \$439,966,340, in 1859, it was \$850,800,031, a fraction less than one hundred per cent. increase in nine years. The value of taxable property in Pennsylvania has increased about in a similar proportion. In New-Jersey, the value of land five miles in width, on each side of the Camden and Amboy Railroad, has increased in value as much as that double track road has cost. The Virginia and East Tennessee Railroad is 204 miles in length, and cost about \$7,000,000. In 1850, the taxable value of land in the counties through which it passes, taken from the census, was \$28,952,627, and in 1856 the assessment makes it \$53,917,228, an increase in six years of \$25,365,558, or almost one hundred per cent.

WHAT RAILROADS HAVE DONE.

In North Carolina, the pine land that was worth but 5 to 10 cents per acre, before the railroads were built, is now selling for three, five, and, in many places, ten dollars per acre. The *Greenville Alabamian* states that, in 1853, when the survey of the Montgomery and Pensacola Railroad was commenced, the value of land in Butler county was \$531,015; in 1855, when the grading was commenced, it was \$891,175; and in 1858 it was over \$2,000,000, showing an increase of near four hundred per cent.

In nine of the southwestern counties of Georgia, which have been approached by railroad since 1850, the value of land has risen from \$11,941,715 to \$23,639,027, an increase of \$11,697,312, or of 98 per cent. in nine years. There are in the counties south of the Ocmulgee river, and west of the Altamaha, remote from railroad, 6,743,349 acres of uncultured pine-timber land. If the contemplated lines of railroad shall be constructed, those lands will be worth, for the timber and for the cultivation—where now it is of little or no value—from five to ten dollars per acre, and add not less than thirty millions of dollars to the taxable value of property in the State.

The mountains of Georgia are rich in metals and minerals, and probably contain as much coal and iron as those of Pennsylvania, which now send forth a product worth more than seventy-five millions of dollars annually, from a region which, before canals and railroads were built, was like that of Georgia, of little

value. There cannot be a doubt, therefore, that suitable railroad communications will develop the wealth of our mineral region, and make it as populous and productive as any in the world.

There being no returns showing the taxable value of land in Georgia, previous to, nor for some years after the construction of the Central Railroad, and the Georgia Railroad, and most of their connections, it is not possible to ascertain the effect of those works on the taxable value of property in this State, but the more recent extension of the Southwestern Railroad, in the nine counties above alluded to, shows very conclusively what it must have been.

Evidences of the increased value of property, caused by the construction of railroads, might be multiplied to an almost indefinite extent, from all parts of the Union where they have been built, but it is believed that enough has been adduced to show, beyond doubt, that if the policy proposed in the message shall be carried into practical effect by the legislature, that while the State will be perfectly secure from pecuniary loss or injury to her credit, incalculable benefits will be conferred on those portions of her territory which are now without railroad facilities; that the taxable value of all property will be vastly increased, that all occupations and pursuits must participate in the general prosperity; that our towns and cities will be enriched by an extensive and profitable trade, and Georgia become the great agricultural, mining, and commercial State of the South.

The last annual report of the Georgia Railroad and Banking Company, March, 1859, shows that their capital stock is \$4,000,000, and that the net earnings of their Railroad and Bank for the year amounted to \$599,211 80, which gives a dividend on that capital of 14 8-10 per cent. Some previous years gives a larger result. The Annual Report of the Central Railroad and Banking Company for 1858, shows their capital stock to be \$3,750,000, and the net earnings of their Railroad and Bank for the year, to have been \$787,103 69, which gives a dividend on their capital of 20.8 per cent.

These figures prove that the former could have paid a dividend of seven per cent., the legal interest of Georgia—on twice the amount of their capital, or on \$8,000,000, and that the latter companies could, very nearly, have paid a like dividend on three times the amount of their capital, or on \$11,250,000, and that the two companies could have paid a dividend of seven per cent. on \$19,250,000, or on \$11,500,000, more than their capital stock.

This statement proves that *three additional* railroads running from the interior, to the seacoast, would each, with only the present amount of traffic, pay a dividend of seven per cent. per annum. But when we consider that the exports of upland cotton from Savannah have increased from 203,363 bales in 1853 to 452,266 in 1859, and that 175,445 bales of that increase occurred in the present year, we cannot fail to perceive that the cotton of Western Georgia, and Eastern Alabama, which formerly went to ports on the Gulf, is beginning to find its way to the Atlantic by railroad conveyance. This goes to prove the argument presented in this report, that as our railroad system is increased and extended westward, the cotton of the States lying west of Georgia will be sent to her Atlantic ports, and that the time is not distant, when more than two millions of bales will annually take that direction, and supply all the railroads that can be constructed under the proposed measure, each, with more freights and passenger traffic than the Central Railroad now carries.

Therefore, considering the large profits realized by the two roads before mentioned, and the increase of business which must come from and go to the cotton States west of us, as railroad communications shall be extended through them, there cannot be a doubt on the mind of any reasonable man that the new lines contemplated will yield such profits as to put to rest all fears that they will not pay promptly, the interest and principal of the bonds, as they become due, which it is proposed that the State shall endorse.

2.—FOREIGN AND DOMESTIC RAILROAD STATISTICS.

It seems from the British Parliamentary Reports, that, although up to January, 1858, 13,827 miles of railroad were authorized to be opened, but 9,019 miles were

in fact open at that time. The total amount of capital then raised for the construction of railroads was £314,989,826; the expenditure per mile being in England £39,275; in Scotland £28,225, and in Ireland £15,664.

The total number of passengers conveyed on railroads in 1857 was 139,088,888, against 129,347,592 in 1856; the receipts from passengers the former year being £10,592,798.

The loss of life was only one passenger in 5,560,355 in 1857, and a little less in 1856. In the average of several years for

Great Britain.....	1 in 6,680,324
France.....	1 in 1,703,123
Prussia.....	1 in 2,144,488
Baden.....	1 in 17,514,977
United States of America.....	1 in 188,000

The results for the United States in comparison are shocking beyond measure. In every 188,000, there was one killed and one wounded! Where shall we look for a remedy for such crimes.

	Cost per mile.	Receipts per mile.
United Kingdom.....	£34,950	£2,712
India.....	10,280	729
France.....	25,668	2,706
Belgium.....	16,390	1,814
Prussia.....	14,486	1,983
United States.....	8,275	1,234

SYNOPSIS

Of the principal European States, and of the United States of America, &c., &c., showing the area in square miles, the population, derived from the latest census, the length of the several railways open in each State, and the number of square miles, and the population to each mile of railway open for traffic, together with the number of miles of railway to each million of inhabitants and to every thousand square miles; also the amount of capital expended, and the receipts from traffic per mile of line open, and per unit of population in each country respectively.

Name of State.	Area sq. miles	Population.	Miles open, June, 1858.	Sq. miles to length.	No. of miles open.		
					Pop. to sq. mile.	Per mil- lion of inhab.	Per 1000 sq. miles.
Austria.....	256,900	39,411,309	2,086	123	18,803	53	08
Belgium.....	11,370	4,607,063	813	14	5,750	176	71
Denmark.....	22,000	2,468,648	230	100	11,221	89	10
France.....	205,910	36,039,304	4,509	45	8,009	125	26
Germany, exclusive of							
Austria and Prussia....	96,100	17,429,588	2,930	33	6,010	168	30
England and Wales.....	58,320	17,927,614	6,706	9	2,646	378	115
Scotland.....	31,324	2,888,742	1,243	25	2,311	432	39
Ireland.....	32,446	6,551,970	1,070	30	6,118	163	33
Holland.....	13,573	3,450,707	182	75	19,170	52	13
Naples.....	43,084	9,051,747	64	673	141,433	67	01
Portugal.....	44,795	3,499,121	29	468	120,659	08	0.64
Prussia.....	108,163	17,282,013	2,544	42	6,793	147	23
Russia.....	2,129,566	60,122,600	715	2,978	84,087	12	0.33
Sardinia.....	28,816	4,916,084	390	738	12,605	79	14
Spain.....	178,871	13,705,500	456	392	29,058	33	2
States of the Church....	15,460	3,006,771	12	1,288	250,000	4	0.77
Sweden and Norway.....	292,568	4,916,029	88	3,324	55,864	18	0.30
Switzerland.....	15,230	2,292,740	310	49	7,718	129	20
Tuscany.....	8,529	1,817,466	150	57	12,116	82	17
Total.....	3,593,108	251,485,078	24,592	140	10,225	98	6.8
United States of America	2,963,000	27,000,000	25,000	119	945	926	8.50
India—Bengal.....	221,969	40,852,397	121	1,842	377,644	3	0.55
Madras.....	119,526	20,120,495	81	1,475	248,490	4	0.67
Bombay.....	57,723	9,015,634	88	644	102,450	10	1.18
Canada.....	242,482	1,842,365	1,252	193	1,471	676	5.16
New South Wales.....	321,579	266,189	38	9,463	7,003	143	0.11

SYNOPSIS—CONTINUED.

Name of State.	No. of passen- gers conveyed.	Capital expended.	Cost per mile.	Receipts per mile.
Austria.....	....	£25,870,786	£16,378	£2,190
Belgium.....	....	7,294,787	16,301	2,158
Denmark.....	....	....	....	....
France.....	....	74,772,904	25,668	2,706
Germany, exclusive of Austria and Prussia.....	45,706,464	20,185,250	13,111	1,816
England and Wales.....	139,008,888	314,989,826	39,275	3,161
Scotland.....			28,225	2,107
Ireland.....			15,664	1,091
Holland.....			19,931	1,709
Naples.....	....	3,248,845	....	....
Portugal.....	....	....	....	....
Prussia.....	18,414,094	35,295,043	14,001	1,877
Russia.....	1,275,427	....	....	....
Sardinia.....	3,236,334	5,794,860	....	1,447
Spain.....	2,539,981	....	....	924
States of the Church.....	....	....	....	....
Sweden and Norway.....	....	....	....	....
Switzerland.....	1,755,467	4,037,427	19,888	636
Tuscany.....	1,163,834	2,053,493	15,556	966
United States of America.....	80,892,091	144,646,953	8,275	1,234
India:—Bengal.....	1,013,608	1,452,000	12,000	925
Madras.....	106,998	450,000	5,600	409
Bombay.....	736,379	1,080,060	12,000	755
Canada.....	1,602,655	14,648,195	11,720	939
New South Wales.....	....	1,226,034	31,843	....

In America there is no government interference, beyond a compulsory publication of accounts in some of the States. There is also not much competition, except for through traffic for long distances. On the Continent and in America, the railways form, generally, through lines of communication. In Great Britain the country is covered with a network of lines. The railways in America and Germany afford better means of judging of the comparative merits of the systems of interference and non-interference than can be afforded by a comparison of either with British railways; but, unfortunately, the details which are accessible of working the American railways are not in a form to admit of a comparison on all points. In Austria and Prussia the works are, on the whole, executed with solidity and care, and the cost has been from £13,000 to £16,000 per mile; labor is cheap. In America labor is dear; the cost per mile has been about £8,000. The works are more slightly executed, and drainage, ballasting, and the permanent way generally, have been too little attended to.

DEPARTMENT OF AGRICULTURE.

1.—NORTHERN VS. SOUTHERN AGRICULTURE.

WHILE the teeming fields of the South are yielding such abundant harvests of wealth and prosperity, it is even debated in the *New-England Farmer* whether agriculture will repay, in that boasted free-labor region, the actual outlay in wages and in interest. Corn, which is undoubtedly the best crop raised, is put down as follows:

ONE ACRE OF CORN,	DR.
May 10, Two men, two yoke oxen and plough one day.....	\$4 25
“ 15, One man, four oxen and cart one day hauling manure.....	3 25
“ 15, Ten loads manure.....	10 00
“ 16, One man one day, yoke oxen and harrow half day, spreading manure and harrowing.....	1 75
“ 17, Man, horse and boy $\frac{1}{2}$ day furrowing.....	75

May 18, Man and boy one day planting, \$1 50, seed 25.....	\$1 75
" 19, To putting up line, &c.....	25
June 6, Two men, horse and plough cultivating and hoeing.....	2 50
" 8, To replanting and ashing.....	2 00
" 25, To hoeing and cultivating.....	2 50
July 10, To pulling weeds.....	50
Sept. 10, To two men cutting stalks and stooking do.....	2 00
" 25, To earthing stalks to barn, &c.....	50
Oct. 12, To harvesting.....	2 00
" 13, To husking and taking care of butts.....	2 00
" 13, To interest on land, capital and taxes.....	3 00
" 13, To fencing, and rents of barn and corn-house.....	3 00
Dec. 15, To shelling and marketing corn.....	5 00
	<hr/>
	\$47 00

ONE ACRE OF CORN,

Cr.

Dec. 15, By 30 bushels shelled corn sold.....	\$30 00
" 15, By 6 bushels ears soft corn sold.....	2 00
" 15, By stover and pumpkins.....	5 00
	<hr/>
	\$37 00

Net loss on crop..... \$10 00

Now, although this statement is contested by another writer, who ciphers up a profit of about \$20 to the acre (which even then is ridiculously small), one cannot but consider that it has a foundation in fact, when supported by the name of an intelligent farmer, who signs his name T. I. Pinkham, Chelmsford.

2.—NEW-ORLEANS COTTON TRADE.

Sixty-four of the principal houses in New-Orleans, engaged in the cotton trade, have given notice that, in order to redress certain abuses and grievances, existing in connection with the cotton trade in that city, they have determined, on and after Monday next, to adopt and enforce the annexed regulations:

1st. That the practice followed hitherto by factors, of offering for sale dusty and sandy parcels of cotton along with other parcels free from such defects, be discountenanced by buyers; and in order to do this the more effectually, dusty and sandy cottons are hereby declared unmerchantable, and factors are recommended to sell them separately on their own merits.

2d. That sellers of cotton shall be held responsible for any just reclamations for false packed cotton, the following clause to that effect being inserted in the broker's sale note, and also on every invoice rendered to the buyer, "subject to claims for false packed cotton."

3d. That the practice of the presses of replacing lost bales of cotton without the consent of the owner be tantamount to a fraudulent substitution, that it shall be treated as such, and the fact reported to the committee to be hereby appointed for that and other purposes, for such action as the gravity of the case may require; and buyers and shippers of cotton engage themselves to uphold the action of the committee, even if it carry with it the necessity to discontinue receiving cotton at such delinquent press, or so long as it remain under the open or covered control of the offending party.

4th. That the charge of five cents per bale made by the presses on cotton not ordered for shipment the day it is received, be no longer paid, provided the shipper gives the compressing order on the day the cotton is received, and name the vessel the day following.

5th. That buyers agree not to pay the charge of fifteen cents per bale, which cotton presses attempt to exact from those buyers who wish to remove their cotton uncompressed on the day it is delivered.

6th. That factors shall replace iron hoops with ropes, unless a special contract is made to the contrary.

7th. That a standing committee, comprising fifteen cotton brokers, be ap.

pointed to take action on any violation of rules adopted at this meeting, and also to adopt such other rules among themselves, to secure a more uniform and satisfactory method of receiving cotton.

3.—INDUSTRIAL FAIR AT BATON ROUGE, LA.

We are rejoiced to perceive that a movement is zealously urged at Baton Rouge, for the re-establishment of the Louisiana State Agricultural and Manufacturing Society, and for the holding of annual fairs at the Capitol. We attended the last of these, at Baton Rouge, in 1847, and took an active part in the affair, and are glad to recognize the names of many old friends again in the field.

At an adjourned meeting of the Industrial Fair Association held at the Harney House on the evening of Monday, the 5th inst., it was

Resolved, That the Fair be held in the city of Baton Rouge on the second Monday of March, proximo.

The meeting then proceeded to appoint the following named gentlemen officers of the Association:

President—John A. Dougherty.

Vice-Presidents—H. W. Allen, E. W. Robertson, Dr. W. Jones Lyle, James A. McHatton, Samuel Matthews.

Recording Secretary—Louis Worcester.

Corresponding Secretary—John H. New.

Treasurer—Samuel M. Hart.

General Agent—Joseph Colton.

Committee on Finance—John A. Dougherty, James E. Elam, W. D. Phillips, C. W. Pope, W. S. Pike.

Committee on Location and Arrangement—Capt. J. B. Rickets, R. H. Burke, Isaac N. Collins, W. F. Tunnard, W. G. Waller, H. T. Waddill.

Committee on Premiums—C. G. McHatton, Dr. J. M. Williams, Dr. J. T. Nolan, W. F. Tunnard, and W. D. Winter.

Committee on Reception—Tom Bynum, William Markham, Alexander Barrow, S. Benjamin, and Robert H. Barrow.

Committee on Address and Publication—Elijah Guion, J. M. Taylor, George A. Pike, H. J. Hyams, and L. L. Laycock.

Board of Directors—J. B. Klinepeter, Dr. Ambrose Williams, William B. Walker, Capt. Jesse Hart, Daniel Hickey, F. D. Conrad, N. W. Pope, Daniel D. Avery, G. A. Neufus, Dr. Sam. G. Laycock, Fergus Penniston, Mef. Rouzzan, Dr. P. M. Enders, Dr. T. Fay, and S. Duncan Linton.

On motion, it was

Resolved, That a general meeting of the citizens of the State be called for the fourth Monday of January next, in the State-House, for the purpose of interesting the public in this enterprise, and with the view of obtaining the assistance and co-operation of our citizens generally.

Resolved, That with a view to the permanent organization of a State Association, for the advancement of the various interests named in our original resolution, by holding annual Fairs, the legislature of the State be requested to grant an act of incorporation, and that the Board of Directors be requested to prepare such an act to be submitted for approval to the meeting to be held in January next.

The following preamble and resolutions were unanimously adopted:

Whereas, The citizens of New-Orleans have, at a recent meeting, manifested their interest in the objects of this Association, therefore, be it

Resolved, That we hail this movement with unfeigned satisfaction, and respectfully request their co-operation in the Fair to be held in this city in March next; and it was further

Resolved, That the Corresponding Secretary forward a copy of the preceding resolution to the Mayor of the city of New-Orleans.

Resolved, That the thanks of the meeting be returned to Col. Rhodus, for the use of his parlors, and for his uniform politeness and attention.

On motion, the meeting adjourned,

J. A. DOUGHERTY, *President*.

LOUIS WORCESTER, *Recording Secretary*.

DEPARTMENT OF MANUFACTURES AND MINES.

1.—MANUFACTURE OF ARMS AT THE SOUTH.

In these darksome times it becomes the South to keep her arms properly burnished and her powder dry. If we have not the arms, surely, self preservation requires that they should be speedily provided. Right glad then are we to see the course pursued recently by Virginia and South Carolina in respect to this matter. Georgia is equally on the alert. Referring to his examination before a committee of the legislature of that State, Mark H. Cooper, the proprietor of the great Etowah Iron Works, tells us:

As to whether the arms could be made in our State of the requisite quality and pattern, these points were to be considered:

1. Have we the proper material?
2. Have we the proper location connected with the power?
3. Have we the means?
4. Have we the men of skill and knowledge?

On the first point, we were able to give reliable information, since, at the instance of our representatives in Congress, samples of the iron ore, pig metal, and bar iron of Etowah, had been furnished to the war and navy departments, subjected to the proper examination and tests, for strength and tenacity of fibre, both for ordnance and small arms, and the reports of the proper officers of the results might be found in the reports to Congress made more than ten years ago, classing the Georgia material with the best for gunnery. That we had sent a ton of our pig iron to England, and there had it made into castings, bar iron, blister and cast steel; and of the steel, samples of files and cutlery were made, all of which were returned to us, with a full report in writing by the English manufacturers, classifying our material with the best English iron used for such purposes, and that these samples had been brought to the capital of Georgia and exhibited during the sitting of the legislature, on the table, in the lobby, more than six years ago. All of which left no doubt that we have the material.

On the second point, "Have we the proper location connected with the power?" It could not be doubted, since we have one ordnance accessible to fuel of every kind, iron and iron ore, and water-power without limit, in the healthiest region known to man. On the confines of a great grain producing country, with railroad transportation to and from in every direction, central as to the State, central as to the South, and so far interior as to defy hostile approach, and yet so easy of egress as to throw supplies even to Savannah in a day.

As to the third point, "Have we the means?" We said if the State is to make the arms, the committee and the legislature would decide.

If we are to answer, being required to make arms for the State, we replied, we had not the money. But having expended over one hundred thousand dollars for other purposes that might be diverted to the purposes indicated, and that, with a loan of one hundred and fifty thousand dollars of State bonds for ten years, we would obligate ourselves to fit up and make and deliver the arms at Etowah, and account for interest, and fill the orders for fifteen thousand dollars worth annually, of the best kind, at Northern prices, freight to Georgia added. And if a present supply was called for, and the State would furnish the bonds, we would buy to her order, pay no interest, and charge no commission.

This proposition the committee adopted without a dissenting voice, and reported a bill accordingly.

4th. As to whether "we have the men of skill and knowledge." We said to the committee, that the manufacture of arms was now no mystery—it was reduced to a system. We needed and could procure the mechanical skill. This being obtained, it was only necessary to fit up the appropriate shops, buildings, apparatus and machinery. Most part of the small arms—the stock, lock, and barrel, after being forged, was turned in lathes, and the result was as certain as Yankee clock-making, if the material was right.

So of the ordnance.

The arms being furnished, they would be tested and inspected by a select officer or agent, whose fidelity could be relied on. The good received and the bad rejected. The loss would be on the producer, not on the State.

2.—CURIOUS MINERAL FEATURES OF CALIFORNIA.

A California paper thus describes the really wonderful geysers recently discovered in the northeastern part of Plumas county :

The area is almost flat, and surrounded on its edge by large boulders, which seem to be fragments of lava. It would be safe to say that on this little spot of ground one thousand boiling, steaming springs exist, and so loud is the sound produced by the escape of the steam, that it is impossible to distinguish the voice of a man ten feet from you. In some of these springs there is a kind of sediment, about the consistency of common mush, which simmers and gurgles, and at times entirely closes the aperture, which is invariably succeeded by a deafening explosion, in the escape of the confined steam. Everything smells strongly of sulphur, which may be gathered, in some instances, in large pieces, but is mostly found adhering to the rocks in the shape of palpable powder—the effect of crystallization. There is also another mineral produced in the same manner, resembling quinine in color and formation, but to the taste like alum, and there is no doubt but that it is alumina. On one side of said flat there is a kind of chalk, white as snow, and resembling plaster of Paris after having been prepared for casting. There is a little plain of this about twenty yards long, and about half that in width, as level as a floor. But what is the more remarkable feature is a stream of cold, pure water, running through the centre of the flat. You can safely move among the springs by submitting frequently to an envelopment in sulphurous vapor. About one mile from the flat, at an elevation of three hundred feet above it, there is a round lake, in diameter about fifty yards, which is in a continual state of agitation, resembling the boiling of a caldron; the earth around it is almost of a blood red. These springs are situated on the head waters of the north fork of Feather river and Lessen's Peak.

3.—PLATINA AND GOLD IN MISSOURI.

Dr. Albert Koch refers to the discovery of these precious metals in Missouri, as follows :

This vein, or deposit, I have found to be from forty to sixty feet in breadth, without, however, reaching the walls or earth side, and consists of green serpentine, running through granite, whose length or breadth has not been ascertained. The specimens of this deposit, up to this time, show two per cent. of gold and platina, the gold bearing on an average two thirds of the amount, so that the worth of the pure metal obtained would be about \$15 per ounce, or \$270 per pound. Now, as the samples yielded two per cent., it follows, of course, that one hundred pounds of mineral will contain a mixture of gold and platina to the amount of \$400, or \$10,752 worth in each ton of mineral.

The gold deposits of Missouri are entirely different from those of California, Australia or Pike's Peak, and cannot be followed at hap-hazard, but must be worked on a scientific plan; then they will not only yield an immense wealth to their immediate owners, but contribute largely to the prosperity of the whole surrounding country.

Lastly, I will only mention further of this interesting formation, that there are several smaller veins running out from the principal artery. Of these small veins but little is known at present, as they seldom crop out or make their appearance on the surface. Three of these have been slightly examined. One of the three makes its appearance at the edge of a small creek, two thirds of a mile from the opening of the principal deposit, and is of considerable interest to the geologist; on it the matrix consists of hornblende, containing no gold, and only four fifths per cent. of platina. It presents itself in irregular rhomboids, from five to six and ten inches in length. By sinking a small shaft on this vein to a depth of twenty feet, it showed a breadth of twenty inches, whereas at the top it only measured ten inches.

A second vein, crossing the above at right angles, is very remarkable, in that it comes in immediate contact with the enclosing walls of the other, and consists of similar rhomboids, but much smaller, and having the appearance of having been pounded, the remaining space being filled up with rounded balls, whose centres appear to contain platina.

4.—SEWING MACHINES.

Though it is estimated that the labor of 300,000 hands has been dispensed with by the introduction of the sewing machine, it is yet true, in point of fact, that hand labor in sewing is in as much demand as ever, and at rates which have not been reduced. In every respect, the introduction of such a machine must be a great public blessing. Would that the genius of the country could be equally successful in supplying a substitute for the exhausting drudgery of the pen. The following statistics have been furnished for our pages :

In 1853—Sewing machines made.....	2,500
1854 " " " "	5,000
1855 " " " "	3,600
1856 " " " "	7,400
1857 " " " "	12,785
1858 " " " "	17,659
1859 " " " "	48,000

Total during 7 years..... 96,944

The manufacture of sewing machines is becoming an important branch of industry. One firm alone employs upward of 400 hands, with a monthly payroll of \$40,000; their works covering an area of nearly 4 acres in extent, and giving employment to a capital of \$400,000. Estimating their average selling price at \$85 (their value ranging from \$50 to \$150), we have \$8,240,340 as the total amount for machines sold during the last seven years, one half of the sales having been transacted within the present year.

5.—THE MARVELS OF INVENTION.

Some one who has recently examined the reports of the Patent Office for the past ten years, publishes the following curious items. We are not sure to which of our exchanges the credit belongs.

Among the thousand marvellous inventions which American genius has produced within the last few years, are the following, compiled in an abstract from the Patent Office Report. Read them over, and then say if you can, that there is nothing new under the sun.

The report explains the principles of the celebrated Hobb lock. Its "unpickability" depends on a secondary or false set of tumblers, which prevent instruments used in picking from reaching the real ones. Moreover, the lock is powder-proof, and may be loaded through the keyhole, and fired off till the burglar is tired of his fruitless work, or fears that the explosions will bring to view his experiments more witnesses than he desires.

Doors and shutters have been patented that cannot be broken through with either pick or sledge-hammer. The burglar's occupation's gone.

A harpoon is described which makes the whale kill himself. The more he pulls the line, the deeper goes the sharp harpoon.

An ice-making machine has been patented, which is worked by a steam engine. In an experimental trial, it froze several bottles of sherry, and produced blocks of ice the size of a cubic foot when the thermometer was up to eighty degrees. It is calculated that for every ton of coal put into the furnace it will make a ton of ice.

From one examiner's report we gather some idea of the value of patents. A man who had made a slight improvement in straw cutters, took a model of his machine through the Western States, and after a tour of eight months, returned with \$40,000. Another man had a machine to thrash and clean grain, which, in fifteen months, he sold for \$60,000. These are ordinary cases, while such inventions as the telegraph, the planing machine, and India-rubber patents, are worth millions each.

Another examiner's report describes new electrical inventions. Among these is an electrical whaling apparatus, by which the whale is literally "shocked to death." Another is an electro-magnetic alarm, which rings bells and displays signals in case of fire and burglars. Another is an electric clock, which wakes you up, tells you what time it is, and lights a lamp for you at any time you please.

There is a "sound gatherer," a sort of huge ear-trumpet, to be placed in front of a locomotive, bringing to the engineer's ears all the noise ahead perfectly distinct, notwithstanding the noise of the train.

There is an invention that picks up pins from a confused heap, turns them around with their heads up, and sticks them in papers in regular rows.

Another goes through the whole process of cigar-making, taking in leaves and turning out finished cigars.

One machine cuts cheese; another scours knives and forks; another rocks the cradle; and seven or eight take in washing and ironing.

There is also a parlor chair patented that can be tipped back on two legs, and a railway chair patented that can be tipped back in any position, without any legs at all.

There is also a patent hen's nest, so completely arranged that the hen is constantly cheated into the belief that it has a real egg to sit upon, although the genuine deposit is carefully stowed away clear out of the hen's sight.

Another patent is for a machine that counts passengers in an omnibus and takes their fares. When a very fat gentleman gets in, it counts two and charges double.

There are a variety of patented guns that load themselves; a fishing line that adjusts its own bait, and a rat trap that throws away the rat, and then baits itself and stands in the corner for another.

There is a machine also, by which a man prints instead of writes his thoughts. It is played like a piano-forte. And speaking of pianos, it is estimated that 9,000 are made every year in the United States, giving constant employment to 1,900 persons, and costing over \$2,000,000.

6.—THE WASHOE SILVER MINES.

As world-wide as is the fame of California for her gold resources, appearances indicate that she may one day be rivalled by adjacent territories in their production of silver. Not alone Sonora and Arizona hold forth pretensions of this kind, but her immediate neighbor to the eastward, the incipient territory of Nevada, is beginning to send forth this metal in its crude state, in such quantities as to leave no doubt of the immense mineral wealth of that interesting section of our public domain. A telegraph despatch from Carson City to the *Sacramento Union*, under date of October 20th, states that fourteen loads of silver ore, from the Washoe mines, passed through that place on the date mentioned, destined for San Francisco. Twenty-seven tons had been forwarded from one of the claims, and ten from another. This ore is of fabulous richness, yielding from two to three thousand dollars per ton. One sixth of the claim of Welch & Co. was sold on the 20th inst. for \$40,000. A recent analysis of the ore of Ophir Diggings, showed them to be rich in gold, as well as silver. The yield of the ore per ton, was \$2,930 in gold, and \$2,857 in silver. The black sand from placer diggings at Virginia City, yielded \$3,000 in silver, and \$300 in gold, per ton. The cost of transportation of silver ore to this city from these Carson Valley Mines, is at present about \$100 per ton, leaving an immense return for the labor expended in mining.

A correspondent of the *Mountain Messenger*, writing of the mines at Virginia City, in the Washoe country, says: "The only means of breaking the rock for gold saving purposes, is the Mexican *arrastra*, fifteen of which are now in use at Virginia City. The celebrated gold and silver bearing quartz vein, which is in very close proximity to the town, is quite extensive, although but fifty feet of the ledge is now being worked. The vein is four feet in width, and quartz containing gold as well as silver may be found so close together as to puzzle the brain of the greatest geologist living."

EDITORIAL MISCELLANY.

History of South Carolina. By Wm. Gilmore Simms.

Catechism of United States History. By B. R. Carroll, of S. C.

These excellent School books are placed upon our table by the publishers.

Mr. Simms' *History of South Carolina* has been a standard work in schools and academies and in private libraries in that State, for the last fifteen years, and the distinguished author has just issued a new edition, revised and somewhat enlarged. It is from the house of John Russell, Charleston.

Mr. Carroll's *Catechism* has reached the fourth edition, the first having been noticed in our pages. Some little defects which were pointed out by us have been corrected, and the whole revised and almost re-written. Notes, biographical and geographical, have been added, the Declaration of Independence, and the Constitution of the United States, tables of the principal land and sea battles of our country, and a carefully prepared chronological chart of American history.

Writers like Mr. Simms and Mr. Carroll have done much to illustrate the history of the South, and to show how much it is capable of achieving in the highest walks of literature and scholarship.

The New American Cyclopaedia—A popular Dictionary of General Knowledge. New-York: D. Appleton & Co.

Vols. VI. and VII. are upon our table, and nearly complete the letter F. We have on several occasions referred to this work as one of the ablest and most valuable for the library of the professional man, scholar, or private gentleman; and think that, everything considered, it is quite as fair to all sections of the Union as such a work can well be made. It is certainly the interest of the publishers to make it so, if we were to suppose their inclinations, and that of the editors, to be to the contrary. If they have inserted certain names distasteful to the South, it is a fault common to all Cyclopedias, the purpose being to include in them persons who are or have been conspicuous for good or for evil. No more can

be expected than the impartial presentation of the views and opinions of the parties, and this seems to have been generally done. The biographies of "Calhoun," "Jefferson Davis," "Crawford," etc., cannot be excepted to; and we do not think that any similar work has included so many Southern names. Among those from this section who have contributed articles, are John R. Thompson, editor of the *Southern Literary Messenger*, Messrs. Robinson and Cooke, of Virginia, Professor Hubbard, of North Carolina, William Gilmore Simms, of South Carolina, T. A. Burke, of Georgia, D. L. Dalton and Judge Meek, of Alabama, Mr. McTyeire, of Tennessee, and R. K. Crallé, of Virginia. In their circular the publishers say, and we have no right to question their truthfulness:

"The greatest pains have been taken by the editors to secure to all sections of the country a full and fair representation in the pages of the *Cyclopaedia*. They are impelled to impartiality both by self-interest, and by their sense of right and justice. The Republic of letters knows no North and no South, no East and no West; and no respectable literary man could for a moment so far forget himself in the conduct of such a work, as to show or feel any sectional partialities."

About \$150,000 will be expended upon the work before its completion. The agent for the South is S. Colman, New-Orleans.

THE Report of the Commissioners of *Free Schools, in Charleston*, shows a very gratifying state of things. The whole number of teachers employed last year was 46, the number of pupils was 2,786, and the average attendance 1,454.

Teachers' salaries.....	\$18,290 06
Cost per pupil.....	12 97
Expended last year for construction.....	20,113 14
Expended for furniture.	3,197 54

An excellent first-class *Female Institute* has, we are pleased to know, been established in the city of Washington, under the auspices of Mrs. E. W. Smith, assisted by a corps of experienced teachers. Her recommendations comprise the most distinguished

persons in the country, North or South.

"The house contains upward of thirty well-furnished rooms. In addition to which, several new buildings have been erected, in which are the school-room, sixty by thirty in size, and fitted up with improved desks from the Boston manufactory; the studio, finely lighted from all sides; the gymnasium, supplied with vaulting-poles, ropes, ladders, rings, bowling-alley, &c.; and the stable, in which are kept a number of horses for the daily use of the pupils. The riding course, about a quarter of a mile long, is bedded with tan, as a preventive against injury from accident; and the entire premises are surrounded by a wall fourteen feet in height. Thus every facility is given to acquire a thorough, practical, and useful training.

"The music and dancing-room is very large, and was constructed by Attorney General Wirt for his daughter on scientific acoustic principles. The walls are adorned with handsome paintings, and a hundred more, now in the hands of the framer, will be added to this collection in a few days," &c., &c.

By the Report of the Trustees of the *University of Alabama*, it appears that the expenditure was, for 1858, \$29,292 90, and for 1859, \$33,762 55. The income is—State fund \$15,000, and tuition charges \$3,500. Although 104 of the youth of the State are entitled to receive their education free in this institution, only 7 claimed the benefit of it in 1858-'9, of which the Trustees complain. It is a common difficulty at the South to get persons to accept free instruction in our colleges. At the college of Charleston there are few or no applicants for the Boyce free scholarships.

We have received the catalogue of the *Female High School at Spartanburg, S. C.*, under the charge of Rev. W. Curtis, LL. D. It is now in most successful operation, with about 150 pupils, and is situated in one of the cheapest and healthiest regions of South Carolina. Drs. Curtis, father and son, have been long and favorably known to the people of the entire South.

Through the liberal grants of public lands, and by the aid of the State government, there is established, in a healthy location, near Alexandria, Louisiana, a *State Seminary of Education for Young Men*, on the principle of the Military Academies of the Carolinas, Virginia, Kentucky, Tennessee, Georgia, Mississippi, Texas, and Missouri. We are glad to see these institutions growing in number all over the

South. Military education is what our sons want, as, in all probability, they will soon be called upon to defend their hearthstones and their liberties. The Louisiana Institution is admirably organized, under Superintendent Sherman, who was a distinguished officer of the army, and several professors educated at the leading institutions of Europe and of Virginia. Five cadets will be admitted from each Senatorial district of the State, and we trust that the number will soon be filled.

Mr. Rineck, of Louisiana, sends us a circular in which he proposes, if the necessary money can be obtained, to establish a *Model Farm*, near New-Orleans. We commend his plan to the attention of planters and other liberal citizens. He says:

"There does not exist in the North American Union a single State more interested in the creation of model and experimental farms, agricultural societies and schools, than Louisiana, and yet she possesses none.

"Is it not surprising that, in a country where the earnings of every individual depend entirely on the yearly produce of agriculture; where the planter is all and all; where the fortune of the plantations rests on a single basis, the ability of the manager; where ruin follows readily on the steps of disorder or misadministration; where a talented overseer may double the income, and may be remunerated, with advantage, by a salary more considerable than the emoluments of the Governor of the State, that, in such a country, there does not exist a single institution where the manly youth desiring to enter that most important career, can find the means of acquiring the instruction indispensable to the accomplishment of its various duties?

"This explains why the planter in need of an able overseer, is often obliged to have recourse to the doubtful services of the first mechanic or pedlar chancing to pass on the public road.

"This explains, and sadly, too, why so many young men, in Louisiana, abandon the most noble of all vocations and prefer to wither and starve in the over-crowded occupations of the city, without even the hope of a change in the future, rather than follow the sure and happy road which would lead them directly to health, fortune, and consideration."

We wish it to be kept upon record exactly what 67 Black-Republican Members of Congress endorsed, and contributed funds to have in general circulation. It is found in the Helper document:

THE BANNER TO STAND OR DIE BY.—Inscribed on the banner which we herewith unfurl to the world, with the full and fixed determination to stand by it, or die by it, unless one of more virtuous efficacy shall be

presented, are the mottoes, which, in substance, embody the principles, as we conceive, that should govern us in our patriotic warfare against the most subtle and insidious foe that ever menaced the inalienable rights and liberties and dearest interests of America:

1. Thorough organization and independent political action on the part of the non-slaveholding whites of the South.

2. Ineligibility of pro-slavery slaveholders; never another vote to any one who advocates the retention and perpetuation of human slavery.

3. No co-operation with pro-slavery politicians; no fellowship with them in religion; no affiliation with them in society.

4. No patronage to pro-slavery merchants; no guestship in slave-waiting hotels; no fees to pro-slavery lawyers; no employment of pro-slavery physicians; no audience to pro-slavery parsons.

5. No more hiring of slaves by non-slaveholders.

6. Abrupt discontinuance of subscription to pro-slavery newspapers.

To these are added this language, addressed to Southern slaveholders: "Henceforth, sirs, we are *demandants*, not *suppliants*. We demand our rights, nothing more, nothing less. It is for you to decide whether we are to have *justice peaceably or by violence*—or, whatever consequences may follow, we are determined to have it, one way or the other."

While many Northern papers have affected to ridicule the panic which, for a moment, the Harper's Ferry affair seemed to create in the Old Dominion, the New-York *Express* turns the tables completely, by showing how fearful was the consternation which prevailed in that city in 1781, on the mere rumor of an insurrection, when there were only about 1,200 slaves out of 8,000 inhabitants.

"The whole population," says the *Express*, "was thrown into a paroxysm of rage and fear. The military paraded the streets almost continually.

"There were at that time only eight lawyers in New-York, all of whom volunteered their services to the government, and assisted by turns in the prosecution, leaving the miserable prisoners without the aid of counsel. To obtain the required evidence upon which to base a sentence, pardon and freedom were offered to any who would turn king's evidence, and by this means any amount of testimony, to almost any fact, could be obtained. While there was no one to say a single word to the accused, the lawyers vied with each other in scurrility, in heaping abuse upon them, in which they were abetted by the judge, when he came to pass sentence. Many purchased their own lives by confessing their par-

ticipation in crimes of which it was afterward proved they knew nothing, and accusing others; and, strangest of all, some confessed at the stake their guilt, who knew nothing of the things with which they were charged.

"As the result of this bloody delusion, *thirteen were burned, eighteen hanged, and seventy transported*. The public blood seemed now to be somewhat satisfied, and the frenzy began to abate; a reaction at length ensued, and the persons remaining in prison were set at liberty."

South Carolina has appointed the Hon. C. G. Memminger, one of her ablest sons, as Commissioner to present certain resolutions at the bar of the legislature of Virginia; even as that State, in an important crisis once sent B. Watkins Leigh to South Carolina. The resolutions smack of the old Colonial times, and of "times which tried men's souls." They were drawn up by Mr. Memminger himself, and are annexed, together with a summary of his remarks in offering them. They were adopted *unanimously*:

"1. *Resolved*, That it is the deliberate opinion of this General Assembly that the slaveholding States should immediately unite together to concert measures for united action.

"2. *Resolved*, That the foregoing resolution be communicated by the Governor to all the slaveholding States, with the earnest request of the State, that they will appoint deputies, and adopt such measures as will, in their judgment, promote the said meeting.

"3. *Resolved*, That a Special Commissioner be appointed by this General Assembly to communicate the foregoing resolution to the State of Virginia, and to communicate to the authorities of that State the cordial sympathy of South Carolina with the people of Virginia, and their earnest desire to unite with them in measures of common defence.

"4. *Resolved*, That the State of South Carolina owes it to her own citizens to protect them and their property from every enemy; and that for the purpose of military preparation for any emergency the sum of one hundred thousand dollars be appropriated for military contingencies.

"The first measure must be a meeting of deputies from the Southern States. We must consult together in this matter, if possible, and carry united counsels to our action. There was a chance of gaining one State to join us now. Virginia would join us in counsel, and it was only right and proper that we should make the proposition to her. She had sent a commissioner to us in our troubles of 1833, bearing her counsel and sympathy, and let us do the same now in return. We could not do less and do our duty. Let us send the ablest man here, and let him represent the matter to the people, and, if

possible, to the Legislature of Virginia. By this means we might get a convention at Richmond, which would make a beginning in the great cause. He therefore proposed deputies to a Southern Convention, should this desirable object be attained, and Virginia and the South be induced to join us.

"But there was, he said, a further duty. As a body of legislators, we owed something to our own people. If we were in earnest, and he hoped every one who had raised his voice here was in earnest, we must prepare ourselves for a seat in that august assembly—a Southern Congress. He then spoke of the necessity of a feeling of security in all quarters—that paucity must be avoided, and of the means necessary to affect these results, by increasing our military defences, organizing our militia, and replenishing the treasury. It was idle to expect the forbearance of the North, and we must prepare ourselves to meet the result of our action, whatever it may be. He was willing to give any amount of money to this end, but he wanted it judiciously expended in strengthening our means of defence."

Though we have no opinion whatever of the so-called "*Union Meetings*," which are being held in every part of the North, and look upon them as rather an old story which can deceive nobody, nor set anybody aright, we are not indifferent at the same time to the bold and manly services of some of our friends who have been conspicuous at these meetings. While there have been renegades at the South who were often found denying that we have in reality anything serious to complain of from the North—hear what a Northern man and an eminent citizen, Daniel S. Dickinson, felt called upon to say in the heart of the Empire State of New-York!

"Scarcely had we completed emancipation in our own State, before a clamor was raised for the repeal of the law permitting the citizens of other States, passing through this State, or sojourning in it, upon business or pleasure, for nine months, to bring with them the servants of their household, and retain them and return with them, and the act was repealed without advantage to a single human being, in derogation of State comity and good faith, in a spirit of menace and hostility, in violation of all social propriety and commercial interest and commerce."

"Churches, North and South, which had long formed a strong band of union in their general associations, and had taken sweet counsels together in their conferences and organizations, became severed. The serpent of sectional discord had crawled into this Eden, where songs of redeeming grace and dying love were sung by children of a common father together, when if there had been one spot on earth exempt from the influences of this fell sectional spirit, it should have been there; and representatives from free States, with true pharisaical sanctity, thanked God that they were not as other men, and

dissolved the connection, because of the great sin of slavery."

"Publications, for many years, have been sown like dragon's teeth over the land, calculated and intended to disturb the relation between master and slave—societies have been organized and endowed—funds raised and accumulated, arms and deadly weapons and munitions have been gathered together in buildings consecrated to the service of the Almighty, to crusade against slaveholders."

"Pulpits have been desecrated to the base service of sectionalism; missionaries have been sent forth to war upon slavery—strong combinations for the stealing and running off of slaves, and to prevent the reclamation of fugitives have been formed; personal liberty bills, to defeat federal laws and override the Constitution, have been passed; all right of equality, in theory or in practice, in the common property of the Union, has been denied them, and one incessant tone of denunciation has been heard upon slavery and slave States, and slaveholders, from one end of the free States to the other, until it has become incorporated into our whole system. It has not only furnished the virus for party inflammation in our political contests, where demagogues furnish the staple, and ignorance, and prejudice, and passion, and fanaticism, construct the fabric, but it enters largely into our religious and social organizations."

"Last, though not least, comes the foray of John Brown at Harper's Ferry, ushered in with stealth, fraud, robbery, murder, treason, and attempted insurrection."

Some remarks upon the *President's Message* and the *Reports of the Departments* must be reserved for another number. We shall then make an analysis for preservation of these important documents. At present our references must be brief.

What the President says in regard to the effects of the opening of the *slave trade* upon Africa can at most provoke a smile when coming from such a source. With all the knowledge which recent histories furnish, going to show that wars in Africa are as universal as they were among the American Indians, and that in the absence of the slave trade its captives are regularly *put to death*, the President, and we say it with respect, can yet consent to talk such nonsense as this:

"On the other hand, when a market for African slaves shall no longer be furnished in Cuba, and thus all the world be closed against this trade, we may then indulge a reasonable hope for the gradual improvement of Africa. The chief motive of war among the tribes will cease whenever there is no longer any demand for slaves. The resources of that fertile but miserable country might then be developed by the hand of industry and afford subjects for legitimate foreign and domestic commerce. In this manner Christianity and

civilization may gradually penetrate the existing gloom."

What irreparable injury must we have done to Africa in the past?

The *Post-Office Department* is in a condition just now that is truly humiliating, its expenditures being about twice the amount of its revenues. We regret not to be satisfied by the President's argument in justification of his course in regard to the failure of the post-office bill at the last session. Congress should have been called together whatever might have been the party consequences.

The tariff too must be raised. This we expected. Let the manufacturers bristle up! Where is Mr. Boyce with his plan of Direct Taxation? Which way shall we fly now from Lowell, Lynn, and the Keystone Foundries? Says the President:

"It will appear from the report of the Secretary of the Treasury that it is extremely doubtful, to say the least, whether we shall be able to pass through the present and the next fiscal year without providing additional revenue. This can only be accomplished by strictly confining the appropriations within the estimates of the different Departments, without making an allowance for any additional expenditures which Congress may think proper, in their discretion, to authorize, and without providing for the redemption of any portion of the \$20,000,000 of treasury notes which have been already issued. In the event of a deficiency, which I consider probable, this ought never to be supplied by a resort to additional loans. It would be a ruinous practice in the days of peace and prosperity to go on increasing the national debt to meet the ordinary expenses of the Government. This policy would cripple our resources and impair our credit in case the existence of war should render it necessary to borrow money. Should such a deficiency occur as I apprehend, I would recommend that the necessary revenue be raised by an increase of our present duties on imports. I need not repeat the opinions expressed in my last annual message as to the best mode and manner of accomplishing this object, and shall now merely observe that the same have since undergone no change."

As the *Presidential election* is soon coming round, and all the fierce elements of party warfare are to be set in action, we have been tempted to look again into a little volume which was published a few years ago by an eminent son of Louisiana, now in retirement, entitled, "*The School for Politics, a dramatic Novel.*" Eschewing whatever may be personal or local in it, we shall, if time admits, before long, present to our readers a few of the

charming and life-like pictures which it furnishes of the game of politics, as it is now understood, its tricks, and its quirks, its corruptions and infamies, together with some suggestions prompted by the text. In these latter days of the Republic, the picture that will be life-like in Maine, will suit as well Oregon or Ohio, so wide-spread and incurable seems the leprosy. Referring to a recent election in New-York, a writer from that city informs us:

"Offices of all sorts, from the head-ships of departments down to the humblest of clerical clerks, were bargained and paid for. Thousands of dollars were distributed in sums of \$50 or \$100 each to the notorious ward politicians who could control (that is buy up) from a dozen to fifty votes a piece. Hundreds of 'liquor shops' were chartered for the day by the opposing factions, and from them 'fighting rum' was furnished, free to all who voted the right ticket. By twelve o'clock noon there were at least six dozen men in the neighborhood of every down-town poll drunk and quarrelsome, ready and anxious to whip any man who would not vote for 'Fernandy Wad' or 'Have-a-mare.' It was only the overpowering strength of the police and the large military reserve that prevented a general and sanguinary riot among all those wild opposing elements. The usual price of votes was an unlimited supply of grog for the day—but thousands were obtained by the payment of cash in hand, from \$2 to \$5 each."

ONE of the most gratifying signs in the darkness of the present hour, is to be traced in the actions of the various *New-England Societies*, which throughout the South celebrated, as is their wont, recently, the anniversary of the "Landing of the Pilgrims." The tone of the speakers at the meetings in Charleston and New-Orleans, was, without exception, that of men who, for weal or for woe, had identified themselves with the section they had made their home, and when the issue comes, we have not a doubt these adopted citizens will be found, for the most part, foremost in the fray, boldly battling in our defence. Mr. J. H. Taylor, a New-Englander, at Charleston, said:

"There are but two alternatives—the one to remain in the present Union, gradually yielding to the pre-sure that is upon Southern institutions until these shall be so crippled, confined, and smothered, as to perish by atrophy, leaving the body politic without vigor or life, or asserting our rights—assume the dignity of independent States, and then organize a government upon a principle that will recognize harmony in all conditions of

abor, and under all the arrangements of a wise over-ruling Providence."

As it may be convenient for reference, we give the authorities from which the great *Union meeting at New-York*, deduced the conclusion, "that the Union, as established by our forefathers, was one of slaveholding and of non-slaveholding States."

1. In the compact of the Constitution (art. 1, sec. 2), recognizing slaves as persons to be represented by their masters, and as property to be taxed upon those masters.

2. In the compact (art. 1, sec. 8) that Congress shall have power to suppress insurrections.

3. Art. 1, sec. 9, in prohibiting Congress to suppress the slave trade prior to 1808, and in giving Congress the power to impose a tax or duty upon each slave imported before that time, not exceeding ten dollars for each slave.

4. In the compact (art. 4, sec. 2) to deliver up, on claim of the party to whom slave service may be due, the person or slave held to such service or labor. [Hi! hi! hi!]

5. In the compact (art. 4, sec. 4), upon the application of any Legislature or executive of a State, to protect said State against domestic violence. [Cheers.]

And whereas, the Federal Government has, from its origin, been administered by the Executive, by Congress, and by the Supreme Court of the United States, not only in the letter but in the spirit of these compacts. [Applause.]

1. Before and after the old Confederation, in the division of the then unsettled Territories, by declaring all north of the Ohio to be non-slaveholding, and all south of the Ohio to be slaveholding.

2. In the Ordinance, July 13, 1787, making free the territory, now Ohio, Indiana, Illinois and Michigan, but providing therein, also, for the surrender of fugitive slaves.

3. In the acts, President Washington approving, admitting into the Union the Territory of Kentucky, slaveholding, then the property of Virginia, and afterward the territory of Franklin, slaveholding, now Tennessee, then the property of North Carolina.

4. In the ordinance, April 7, 1796, John Adams approving, organizing the Mississippi Territory, then belonging to Georgia, now Alabama and Mississippi, in which was especially excepted therefrom the anti-slavery clause of the Northwestern Territory, in these words:

"Excepting and excluding the last article of the ordinance of 1787."

5. In the fugitive slave law of 1793, George Washington approving, which passed the Senate unanimously, and House—ayes 48, nays 7.

6. In the purchase of Louisiana, President Jefferson approving, all that vast region west of the Mississippi, stretching to the Pacific Ocean and to the British possessions, all of which was, under the laws of France or Spain, slaveholding, and larger in extent at that time than the whole United States.

7. In the treaty of 1783—ninth article—providing against the deportation of slaves, with the official correspondence of Washing-

ton, Randolph, Gouverneur Morris, and John Jay, thereon.

8. In the judiciary act, 1789—34th section—adopting the constitutional laws of the several States, which recognize slaves as property as well as persons.

9. In the acts enumerating slaves for the purpose of direct taxation, especially the act of 1813, James Madison approving, which assessed taxes upon the land, dwelling houses and slaves, at the value each of them was worth in money.

10. In the treaty of Ghent, 1814, under which, from Great Britain, our government received \$1,200,000, and paid it over to the owners of deported slaves.

11. In the purchase of Florida, in 1819, a slaveholding territory, from Spain.

12. In the decision by the Supreme Court of the United States, of the constitutionality of the act of 1793, in *Priggs' case*, and of the like act of 1850, in every case before any of the high courts, Federal or State, unless in one State court in Wisconsin—and in divers other decisions upon laws, ordinances, and treaties. [Cries of "That's so!"]

From the shades of private life which he adorns, as he has adorned the most illustrious positions in the Republic, and deserved its highest plaudits, that truly State-Rights' man, Ex-President Pierce, writes to a Boston meeting:

"It is not the recent invasion of Virginia which should awaken our strongest apprehension, but the teachings, still vehemently persisted in, from which it sprung, with the inevitable necessity which evolves the effect from the cause."

So, again, it is to be remembered that those who boldly approve and applaud the acts of treason and murder perpetrated within the limits of Virginia, are not the most dangerous enemies of the constitution and the Union. Subtle, crafty men, who, passing by duties and obligations, habitually appeal to sectional prejudices and passions, by denouncing the institutions and people of the South, and thus inflame the Northern mind to the pitch of resistance to the clear provisions of the fundamental law, who, under plausible pretenses, addressed to those prejudices and passions, pass local laws designed to evade constitutional obligations, are really and truly, whether they believe it or not, the men who are hurrying us upon swift destruction."

The exodus of Southern Students recently from the Colleges of the North is a matter for public gratulation. There has been no reason for many years why Southern students should betake themselves to such inhospitable climes, seeing that our own institutions of learning are not surpassed by any on the continent. In what are the Medical Colleges of New-Orleans and Charleston behind those of the North?

Cannot Theology be learned as well at Columbia or Greenville, S. C., as at Hamilton College, where there are numerous colored students? What institutions of learning are better organized than the Universities of Virginia, North Carolina, Alabama, and Mississippi, or the South Carolina College?

In the arts and manufactures, we are not yet ready for independence, but let things go on as they have and we soon will be. The "Old Dominion" has begun the movement in the right direction.

Mr. Armour of Texas has submitted to us the plan of a breakwater for the deepening the passes of the *Mouth of the Mississippi*, which seems to have some merit.

The plan proposed by Craig and Righter, and in part carried out in the same quarter, has undoubtedly improved the navigation of the river. It was to reduce the width of the channel by the operation of piling, and by the construction of a breakwater. Colonel Long, of the United States Engineers, admitted that a depth of from three to five feet additional had been obtained by this work, though but a very temporary structure. During the present season no interruptions have been met with at the mouth of the river, and those of last season are asserted, in certain quarters, to have happened from the negligence of the Tow Boat Company, but of this we have not the means of forming an opinion. This Company is now at work for the government, and is receiving the unexpended balance of the appropriations.

Ex-SENATOR Charles T. James, of Rhode Island, has requested us to make known to the Southern people at large, and particularly to any company of them, who are about to establish manufactories in their midst; that it will afford him great pleasure to visit them, and to impart all informa-

tion which his long experience has taught, to enable them to carry out their ends. General James has been extensively engaged in manufactures for years, and is conversant, both with the mechanical and monetary working of this great industrial pursuit. He is a thorough gentleman, and a Democrat of the old-school.

SEVERAL able articles are received too late for the present issue, and must be held over for the March number. Among them is a paper from the distinguished jurist, Judge Hopkins, of Mobile, and another from the brilliant pen of "Python," which has, on so many occasions, illustrated the pages of the REVIEW, and which, in this instance, is employed in a most masterly exposition of the designs and purposes of Black-Republicanism; showing, in a manner which cannot be contradicted, the degradation and ruin which must ensue to the South, should she, in an unhappy hour, assent to the inauguration of such a party to the control of the Republic.

ERRATUM.—On page 573, of November number, it is said that Dr. Maxcy was the head of the University of South instead of North Carolina.

THE attention of our friends is called again to our editorial note in the January number of the REVIEW, page 123, and to the special circular which has been sent out from the office. This is the season for them to act.

THE books received too late for this month will be noticed in our next.